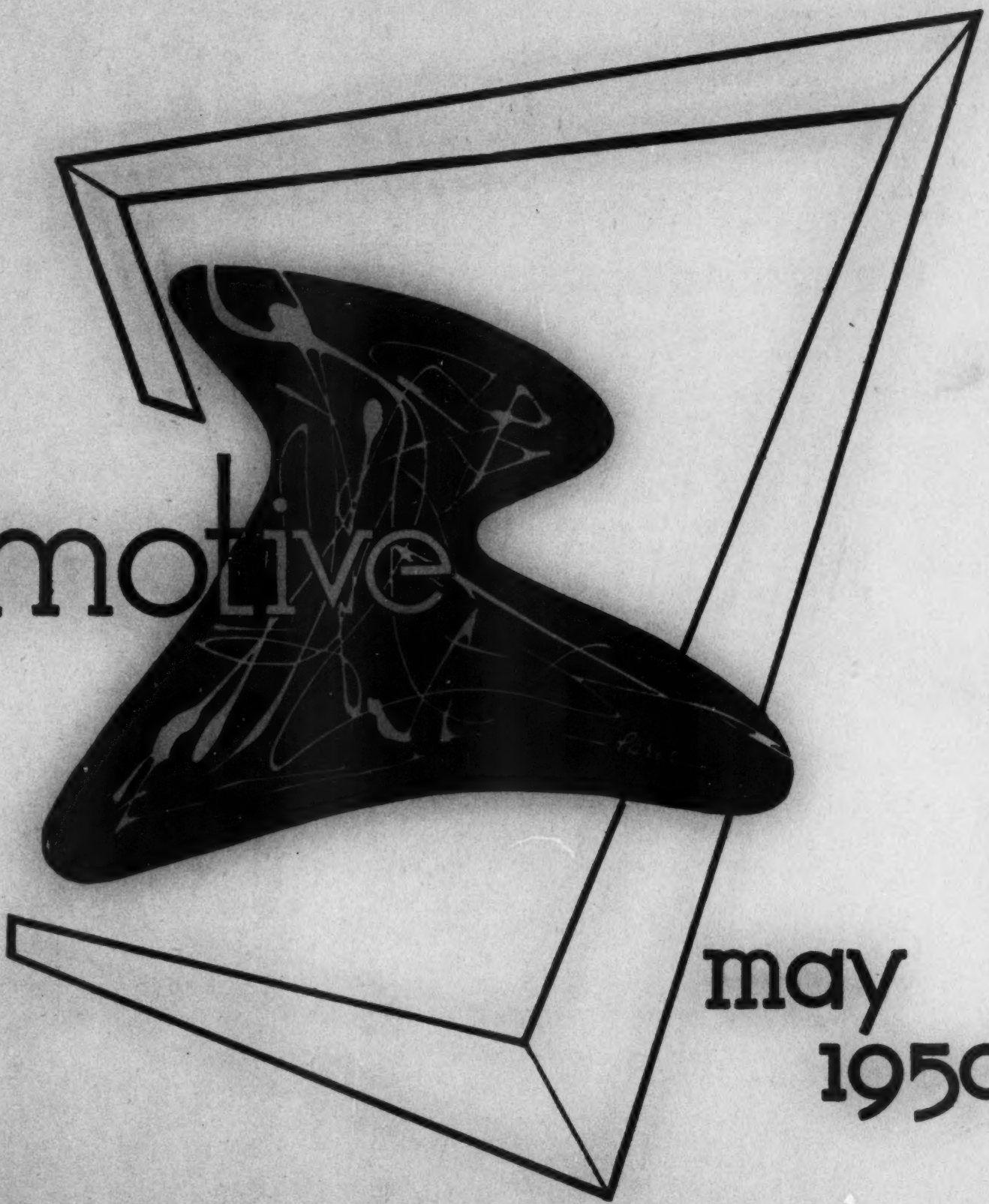


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VOL. X

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PORTRAIT OF CHRIST

ROBERT HODGELL

The day of the great big words is over. We have been drunk with their sound until our ears are impervious to meanings. For the church and the classroom have been the hollow shells of word-sounds, the air-filled reservoirs of word-noise. The glib speaking in accents of familiar patterns has all but dulled the sensitivity to nobler thoughts and finer values. The day of the great big words is over. From the chancels and the pulpits and the platforms new life-witness must come, the evidence of lived faith, the testimony of integrity in living. With drama that will be deep and sincere, with stories of the actuality of Christian experience, the pulpit and the stage can become again the incentive to depth living, to courageous experience and to heroic adventure. Youth must tell its story, maturity must record its experiment with truth, and old age must punctuate life-sentences to end with question marks, exclamation points and periods. Expounding the gospel must be the analysis of the past centuries

of reality in terms of present-day living. The laboratory of everyday experiment must be reported on. The themes must be short, the footnotes few and the bibliography the carefully chosen living books from out of the plethora of words that are written on inexpressive paper by the big-word masters of our times.

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Not words but evidence! For the "ounce of spiritual practice" that is "worth a ton of theology" we must develop again the class meeting, in modern form, the small group, fellowship or cell. The wielders of big words have become the hypocrites of our generation, charming, soothing but seldom alarming the pew and bench sitters who come to be entertained and to be flattered for their virtuous sinning. Let a new Amos arise, another Jeremiah come to judgment! This age needs not big words. It needs the melting evidence of lived experience, the exchange of experiment in life process if it is to create the character to meet the crisis of our time.

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We need not anonymity but familiarity. People need to know not less but more of our business. We have spoken big but lived small. We have talked in enormities and lived in insignificance. We are guilty of secret sins that our best friends do not know and our loved ones would not believe. We have killed people in our inmost closets with envy, jealousy and deceit. The time for airing has come. We must throw open the windows of ourselves and let the air of close relationship come in to clean out the foul atmosphere of introverted lives. This is a time for putting up the shades, for taking down the double windows and the close-slatted shutters. As people and as nations we must let out the secret, clean out the hidden places that breed suspect fears and apprehensions.

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This is a time for loving that is not pent up in the selfish desires of our own pleasures. This is a time for discrimination in our love—discrimination of the kind that would make us see beneath the false and hypocritical exteriors that are treated with the cosmetics of social approval. We must cease lusting after the tempting exterior while the genuine in turn dries up. This is a time for loving men because they are our brothers; men because they are our likeness in the myriad variations of mankind; men because they are the self-reflections of a God who lives in us and through us to the last essence of life in the universe bound together by love.

---

This is a time when we must come to ourselves, to the highest, noblest and the best that is capable of flowing through these selves of ours. We must come to ourselves by finding where we are going, the way we are going to get there and the means to give us strength to get there. This is no time for debauching with words such as sailors use or barracks life creates, no time for oaths or words dirtied by evil minds. This is a time for means and ends, for both; for truth, complete and absolute; for honesty in all relationships; for understanding that is more than lip service in a prettied, artificial world; for love that is all-consuming, all-giving, that gives up everything; for dying in old, selfish selves that new and vigorous selves may be born.

---

Hope for the democracies does not lie where many religious people think. It does not lie in any of the traditional dogmatic presentations of Christianity, whether Roman, Eastern, Anglican, or Protestant. Nor does it lie in any artificial and mechanical "union" of hitherto divided ecclesiastical groups. It lies in that essential and eternal core of Christian reality and insight about God and man which is common to all the divided traditions, but in each has been misinterpreted, distorted, corrupted and frustrated. Its resurgence is a task for prophets, and they will have to be as "political"—and as "God-centered"—as the ancient Hebrew prophets. Church unity is indeed a *sine qua non* of social and political unity; but the first effect of the prophetic revival may well be to shake and rebalance, rather than outwardly to unify, the churches. Nobody can say with certainty that the churches will rise, in time, to the challenge and crisis of this hour. The important thing is that people, both in and out of the churches, who care about the future of democratic society, should realize the true basic role of Christianity and of the churches in politics; namely, to breathe into systems and institutions life, spirit, purpose, significance and value.

—From *Student* of the New Zealand S.C.M.



# Fugitives from the Brain Gang

are what most students are politically unless they get a mature understanding in college.

J. MILTON YINGER

AS A TEACHER it has always been a bit disconcerting to me to know that a large number—perhaps a majority—of college students have pretty much the same political philosophy when they leave college, and afterwards, as do those who, in similar class and occupational groups, have not had the chance at systematic advanced education. In many cases, there is not much to distinguish the political thought of the fifteen-year-old from that of the twenty-five- or thirty-five-year-old, even when college has intervened. We inherit our politics from dad and don't create our own in the new setting. There may be a slight flurry of critical evaluation during college, but shortly after graduation most of us begin to act like fugitives from a brain gang. If we don't get a mature, up-to-date political view in college, well grounded in knowledge of the society in which politics is carried on, the chances are good that we never shall have one.

This article is an attempt to sketch what seem to me to be the basic elements in a mature approach to the political problems of our day. There are four fundamental steps, all part of an ongoing development, but capable of separation for purposes of study: (1) We must know what our political values are. (2) We must have in our grasp a sound knowledge of the data that relates to those values. (3) We must have a vivid motivation to act upon our values. (4) We must know the obstacles to political effectiveness, and study ways of reducing those obstacles.

These seem obvious enough, and yet I believe that a close analysis of them will reveal that we are inadequately equipped at many points to be effective citizens.

## I

What are our political values? It is not enough to say that we favor democracy, or civil liberties, or rule by the majority. Political activity is almost always a choice of a specific value, often in contradiction to another specific value which we also hold. We need a carefully thought through basic moral premise, and then an appraisal of how any specific proposal harmonizes with that premise. Do we be-

lieve in democracy? That is not an easy term to define. I should think it would include at least these four aspects: Majority rule (implying the adequacy of techniques for getting a true expression of majority sentiments, and also implying a relationship between majority and experts that will permit the former complete policy-making power while taking full advantage of the necessary technical knowledge of the latter—a difficult problem). Democracy also includes the right of all minorities to make themselves into a majority by any peaceful means—and acceptance by all of peaceful transfer of power. This is where civil liberties are crucial to democracy. It also means cultural pluralism—a belief that people who are different from us in language, religion, customs are part of the body politic, that we do not need to reduce all groups to the least common denominator of middle-class, Middle Western behavior before they are truly American. The idea of America as a melting pot has many noble sentiments, but too often it contains the assumption that any group can be melted into the total—on our terms, in the pattern of a fairly narrow, provincial idea of Americanism. Democracy to me leaves plenty of room for foreign accents, folk culture and Hungarian goulash. Finally, democracy implies that all members have equal access to the ladders of success, that no one gets ahead only because of pull, or is kept down because the road was blocked from childhood on.

Once we have described a general moral premise, our job then becomes to find how specific proposals harmonize with it. It is often assumed that most of us agree about values and ends, and disagree only over means. A little careful study will show that within a nation there are vast disagreements even about the ends to be achieved—at least with regard to the specific immediate goals that are the essence of political decisions. The 1948 Wiley-Revercomb Bill on displaced persons is widely criticized among liberals today, yet when we begin to examine our own values on the matter, much confusion arises. Should we admit only healthy persons, for example? Most of us immediately say yes, of course. But what

great humanitarian gesture has the United States made if it admits only those who can make the maximum contribution to us? Today, no child with tuberculosis scars, let alone active tuberculosis, can come into the country. Perhaps it is precisely the children with tuberculosis to whom we ought to reach out our hands, to help bring them to a country where they have some hope of recovery. Once we have our values clearly in mind, we discover that some of them are mutually contradictory—even within the value system of one person. One cannot be politically moral in the modern, complex world until he is ready to say: I will sacrifice value A for the greater value B because one blocks the other. We must, in other words, have a hierarchy of values.

These two facts—that there are disagreements among individuals within a democracy even over ends and that there are disagreements within an individual—make the problem of morals in politics much more complicated than we often assume. They are responsible for a great deal of misunderstanding, and even of cynicism, about the political process. We complain about political compromises, about resorts to expediency, dirty politics. It is said of some politicians that they have their ears so close to the ground that they are always full of grasshoppers. We say of the politician that he must have three hats: one to cover his head; one to throw in the ring; one to talk through.

We have made of the word politics a synonym for unscrupulous manipulation of cowardly compromise. This is very unfortunate. That there is some truth in the idea is not the major point—in what occupation is there not lack of scruples and cowardice? But so long as there are conflicting interests, so long as there is a hierarchy of values, there will be a need for politics, for a group of people whose job it is to balance the interests of all the groups involved, to maximize the happiness of all, and to determine which of several contradictory values are more important. Politics must become, if it is not already, a great and noble profession.

Thus, the first responsibility of the

college student, as he faces politics, is to know what his values are, to realize that he will sometimes have to give up value A to achieve value B, that other people have different values, and that, therefore, politics is a great necessity.

## II

The second responsibility is quite obvious. To be politically mature, one must have in his grasp a wide and deep knowledge of the facts of each issue. We come, all too often, to our political opinions on the basis of pre-established categories and biases, or on the basis of innocent ignorance. Ought our state to rework its tax structure? We cannot possibly answer this until we know who now pays the taxes, hidden and obvious, how much the total tax burden is, what the effects of a given distribution of tax burden are on standards of living, employment, investment and on government itself. There is no easy way of avoiding this problem. Hard, factual, scientific study is a political responsibility. Should we have a Fair Employment Practices law? Let us know the results in other states, the effects of the national F.E.P.C. during the war, the effects on all concerned of not having such a law, on the use of skills, on the motivations and frustrations of minority groups, on America's moral leadership. We do not need to "fly blind" on these questions; there is much sound information available, the tested, even if tentative, judgments of experts, great masses of data that are relevant to the questions. In some instances we don't know enough; we cannot predict the consequences of a given act perfectly. That is not an excuse for doing nothing—for that, too, has consequences. Lack of adequate knowledge means simply that we must redouble our efforts to get such social knowledge, meanwhile acting tentatively, modestly, on what we have. For fear of making an error, we sometimes do not act, when nonaction is even more obviously an error.

Responsibility number two, to know the facts, is clearly meaningless until put into context with responsibility number one, to know our values, because we cannot act upon the facts until we have defined what we want to achieve. Even when we have mastered the facts about our present taxation, so that we know how much the burden is, who carries it, what effects this has on employment, standards of living, investment, etc., we must still ask: Who should carry the burden? Is full employment value number one, or subordinate to some other? Knowledge is an aid to, not a substitute for, our moral political activity.

## III

The third political responsibility of

the college student needs only to be mentioned. It is useless to know precisely what one's values are, and even how to move toward them, if we are not at the same time, willing to make the sacrifices, to do the hard, tedious work that effective political action requires. This third responsibility, then, is to get into politics, not just to talk about it and think about it. I don't mean that we should all run for the senate or the state legislature, nor even that we should all join a political party, although that is often a very good thing to do. There is a great deal of concern about "voter indifference" during elections, only about 50 per cent of qualified persons went to the polls in the last election. It is even more dismaying, however, that this indifference expresses itself through the whole range of political activity. The vote, after all, is only one phase of politics. If our motivation is strong enough only to get us to vote for the least bad of several candidates on election day, we are not accepting our responsibility.

## IV

The last responsibility is perhaps the most difficult of all to carry out. This is the requirement that we know precisely the obstacles to democratic government. We can know our values and the facts related to them; we can be highly motivated to work for their realization; but if we are naive about the nature of the struggle for power in political life, we shall not be effective workers.

One of the key questions we must ask is: What is the nature of the power structure of our society? Who makes the key decisions? Whose demands are disregarded, whose carried out? What trends are there, if any, representing changes in the

power structure? We cannot be responsible participants in political life without an answer to these questions.

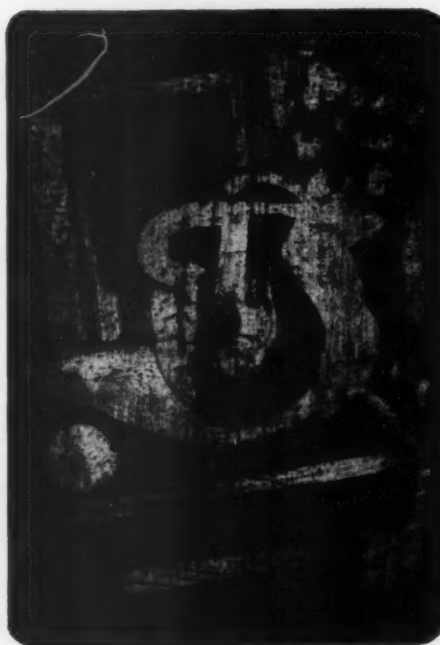
Unfortunately, most of us are quite unsophisticated in our study of power. There is a widespread feeling in the United States that it's at least a little bit indecent to talk about the distribution of power. Many persons contend that even to raise the question is a sign of seditious intent, for it undermines a supposed national unity. Those who point to the fact of class conflict and internal struggles for power in the country are frequently treated as if they were responsible for the presence of that struggle.

But whether we study it or not, the struggle goes on. The democratic idea is that one individual equals one unit of power, at least in the political sphere. At first it was assumed that the various power structures—the political, the economic, the journalistic, the religious, the educational, and so on—were quite independent of each other, so that one could have great faith and confidence in political democracy without any concern over how the power was held in the economic realm or who controlled the schools. At least most people held, and hold, this view. Madison tried to tell us differently, and there are others who could have made us more sophisticated democrats, if we had listened.

Let's examine, very briefly, what is happening outside the political sphere, and then try to assess its significance for democracy. Virtually all observers are agreed that power is becoming more highly concentrated in fewer hands, with less diversity, every year. But the same observers quarrel vigorously over the direction of that concentration and its significance. To some the key fact is the continuing expansion of large corporations, fewer and fewer companies controlling more and more of our industry. To others, the central development is the emergence of organized labor, now with fifteen million members, wielding, according to this view, overwhelming political and economic power. Another view thinks the key element in concentration of power is the growth of governmental power, the "new leviathan," making decisions that formerly were left to free and relatively isolated individuals. Some point to the emergence of "big agriculture," large corporate farms, as a central factor in the concentration of power today. Reactions and evaluations of these trends are as various as the interpretations.

Can we make any sense out of these differing, and contradictory, positions? The fact of concentration of power can scarcely be questioned. We must try to find out in whose hands the power had

(Continued on page 25)



# A Man to Speak

The time has come for a man to speak.  
He has talked plenty, has had his say,  
By the way—  
Good talk  
Gone away.  
My words were wind to house and barn,  
Kept out of house and swept through barn.

Who remembers the wind?

I'm not saying nothing happened with the words.  
I'm a teacher and I know  
Some people are farther on the road  
Because of the wind. It gentles them along  
Or whips them forward hunching into the storm.  
Some, not many. Most  
Were in houses and barns, and stayed there, that's all.  
The words went by  
With a pleasant outside sound;  
"Thank God we're not out there tonight!  
Yes, sure, I'll have another."  
Or maybe they swirled haydust in a country eye;  
"Damn, I better get these chores done and go inside  
Before she really blows!"

(What's the matter with my kind of talk?)

The time has come for a man to speak  
In words not wind but an axe.  
This thing isn't to hear outside  
Or let blow past! Dear God!  
It's got to be felt, and hard.  
It's got to chop down the old stuff, so look out  
For the axe is laid at the root of the tree  
And you better know what tree. Not wind,  
Not wind, but an axe.

Wait.

The time has come for a man to speak  
In words not wind, not an axe, but a man,  
Or I think I should put it, a *man*.  
No blowing, no blade, but yes,  
Yes a *man*. See now,  
I write it down (if the paper can take it)  
Jesus.

There's nothing more I have to say.  
That right there is the greatest load  
A word could ever carry.  
Bigger than a word, bigger than a blow,  
Big as a life—your life  
And mine.

—William W. Clark



# A.C. Orozco

by MARION JUNKIN

Jose Clemente Orozco died September 7, 1949. To evaluate the life and work of this man at this time is particularly difficult. Following an explosion there is a quiet before the screams are heard, and it is much later that the damage can be evaluated. Now there are legal matters attending any death and the disposition of the effects, the effects in this case being the creative work of possibly the greatest artist of modern times. The art dealers will be fighting for possession of what works are not permanently affixed to walls. All of which is of no importance, for what we are interested in is the stature of this man and the significance of his achievement. To evaluate Orozco one must make rather large comparisons.

Pablo Picasso is today the master of European painting, a Europe that is recovering from major havoc and destruction. His art is the superb expression of a sick civilization. It fascinates by its magic distortions. Essentially it is an art of despair and destruction. He darts from period to period trying to find an escape from boredom and disillusionment. It is not Picasso's genius that is questioned but rather the kind of genius because Picasso will probably go down in history as our greatest master of futility—a magician fascinating us with his tricks, but tricks made of thin fabric and expressive of a torn culture.

Orozco is no magician. He is rather a dynamic philosopher-painter expressing in his art the fusion of cultures that has gone into making the Mexican Renaissance. Aztec, Spanish, Catholic and French are the chief elements although undoubtedly there have been influences from Karl Marx and the contact with America is not to be ignored; both Rivera and Orozco have reacted against American philosophy. I have stated that Orozco was a philosopher-artist. This means that in his painting he has expressed something important about the way the Mexican



Collection Gisele Shaw, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

## SELF PORTRAIT

people think and that his major aesthetic beliefs are worthy to represent the Mexican culture and that in the end he adds something to their thought. This Orozco does. Few artists in America add to the philosophy or aesthetics of the nation but largely reflect what we are. Some, like Sinclair Lewis, perhaps give an insight into our nature but no painter has yet roared out with a blast that was worthy of the "American dream" or the possibility for real democracy. America with all of its power, technology, educational program and other cultural machinery has not produced a great art. Why? In his book, *The Meeting of East and West*, F. S. C. Northrop offers the solution in the contrast between the basic philosophies

motive

of Mexico and the United States. Certainly America is not a crippled or a dying civilization. Northrop's view is in the Lockian theory of democracy and freedom for the individual. He believes that in our practical working philosophy we have placed a higher value on property rights than we should have, even above human, social or economic needs. Certainly it is that we have had vast freedom to acquire material wealth, even through exploitation of resources, but that we lack a personal sort of intellectual and social freedom. How many of us are free from keeping up with the Joneses? How many of us in school or college will take a stand in the face of laughter or ridicule? Group opinion with us is a strong influence for maintaining the status quo and while this may be good some of the time, it tends to produce a standard product. We do not encourage the radical or the daring (unless it might make money) but rather demand a conformity to the current pattern of thought and anyone who does not do this is, of course, a troublemaker. The Mexican painters and particularly Orozco have not truckled to such a society but have stated their credo in thunderous terms.



Collection Museum of Modern Art.

## ZAPATISTAS

May 1950



Collection Museum of Modern Art.

## PEACE

Another consideration that must be taken into account is the Spanish-Catholic nature of Mexico against the Aztec background. Here again a fusion has taken place. This is important because in America with all of our "melting pot" ideas we have not fused in quite the same way. Our cities have large areas devoted to Italian, German and Jewish populations and the millions of Negroes cannot be said to have fused with the Anglo-Saxon in spite of six million light-skinned Negroes.

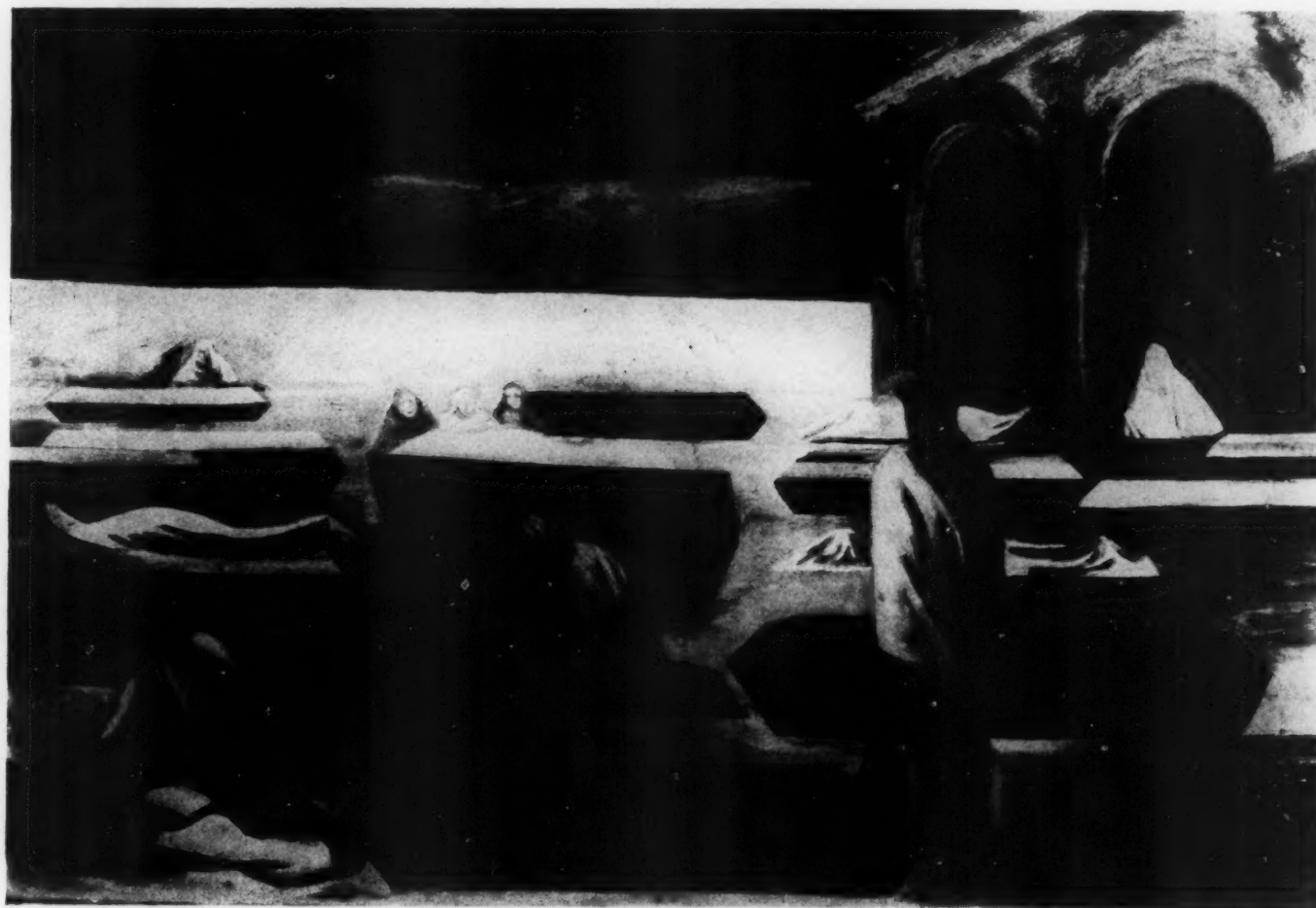
The Spanish passion and fierce emotional nature are ever felt in the flaming vibrant compositions of Orozco, and a comparison of his work with the meticulous work of the American Charles Sheeler will show a difference in temperament. The Anglo-Saxon is predominantly Puritan and Protestant with strong emphasis in his religion upon the sins of the flesh. There is no such philosophy behind the work of Orozco. It is full blooded and every line and form breathe a full acceptance of life. It can be said that great intellect is here but directed by a great passion. This passion is for humanity.

There is a lesson for America in Orozco's art but it probably comes too late. His is a fusion of aesthetics with life. Religion, music, art and poetry are things for the American to add to life after other more physical things are achieved. To the Mexican art and life are one and the same and art becomes a daily necessity. His clothes, his walls, his practical utensils are all so beautiful and exciting. But to us these are incidental. In an American community it is relatively easy to get typing taught in the schools



but art instruction is a different matter. Why pay taxpayers' money for frills. We do not create beautiful violent murals on our A. and P. walls; nor do our bankers and merchants sing lustily as does the Italian peasant who plows his field. An American merchant or banker singing *Rigoletto* at the top of his lungs as his chauffeur drives him to the ticker tape—that I would love to see! No, we buy tickets to see a movie or hear a concert far more often than we play music for each other in our homes. The world of art has so much to give which we cannot buy canned out of a juke box.

Mexico produced Orozco out of the sinews of her culture. To explain Orozco in any other way is useless, as it seems unnecessary to "explain" his paintings. Can you explain a storm, a rose, a volcano, or a lovely child? Not unless you want to pull the petals off and be a scientist. At Dartmouth College when Orozco was painting his murals some students asked him to explain his paintings. He looked puzzled and hurt. "Explain them? Why they are just there." Yes, they are just there and in a world hanging on the edge of an H or an A, when pessimism and uncertainty blot our dreams of security and peace, it gives one a surge of exaltation to know that a one-armed painter could rise above the defeat of Europe and the facts of America to produce an art full of life and humanity.



Collection Museum of Modern Art.

## THE CEMETERY

May 1950



Collection Museum of Modern Art.

## BARRICADE



Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago.

**ZAPATA, THE LEADER**



# Method of Restoring Faith

is what students found an interchange of letters with German students to be.

DORIS FRY

IS THERE AN ANSWER to the great problems confronting our modern civilization? Can men live together as brothers? Is the Christian ideal of love too advanced for our present materialistic age? Do men, all men, possess within themselves the qualities which could make for world peace?

These are the disturbing questions which we face as we read the more than seventy letters we have received from Germany concerning the ideas we have exchanged with them.

The correspondence began in our student group on the Nebraska Wesleyan campus last November. Over a hundred form letters were sent to addresses we had collected from various sources, and we received a response from more than half.

With a continuation of this correspondence through personal letters as well as the bimonthly form letters, we have presented our customs, ideas and aspirations.

The German students welcomed our extended hand of friendship and, in turn, shared with us their attitudes and opinions. Those to whom we write, and thus on whose letters these conclusions are based, represent a random group of Christian students in various universities and schools throughout West Germany. We hope we will not give any false impressions or presume too much as we share these concepts revealed in their letters.

In spite of a confessed skepticism, the German student reveals a courageous spirit in his earnest endeavor to acquire an education. Working up to eight hours a day when he can get work; living in an attic, hovel, or remnant of a bombed building; walking as much as four hours a day going to and from the improvised buildings housing the university; listening to professors in cold crowded rooms; taking detailed notes which must serve as his only textbook; asking himself, "Should I buy paper to write on or bread to eat?" the German student struggles through school by a way which we American students cannot conceive.

The German youth, however, recognize and are grateful for the financial

aid given them by Americans, especially through the Marshall Plan. They feel it was not only a great economic help but also an important measure in checking the Communist conquest. Though some sense injustices toward their country on the part of the Allied Powers, bitterness toward us is rare if not nonexistent.

Many students reveal a powerful feeling of guilt for their part in the war; others feel they had no voice, they did not know why they fought, but were forced into a supposedly patriotic war by a great deception.

IT is no wonder many of the German youth have sunk into skepticism and even nihilism. Indeed, it is remarkable that even the Christian students dare hope. They have fought in a cruel war since they were boys of fifteen. Their homes have been destroyed, their loved ones killed. Many have been prisoners of war for long terms. In Russian camps, they have seen the result of a people trained in the Bolshevistic concepts. Some are fugitives from East Germany where they have known what Russian control can mean. World War II is over but World War III is merely a matter of time. They fear Russia with a fear that our American generation cannot know. How can they hope for a better future? How can they believe in the high principles and ideals of the ages, even those of their own great philosophers of a past era?

We offered them our ideas and suggestions: opposition to the strong militaristic tendencies of our own country and other Western powers; disapproval of the Atlantic Pact as an aggressive step toward war; the ideal of love, the outgrowth of the pacifist movement strong on our campus last year, as the only way out of the world's dilemma.

They have answered earnestly as Christian students. With their wider knowledge of the cruelty of war; their deeper feelings based on closer contact with the crisis itself, they have challenged our faith in the ideals we have developed from our college theorizing. Most of them consider our suggestions as ideals that are not practical for application.

The dreadful fear of the Kremlin prevents them from accepting a way of non-resistance. They hate war. They really know what it is and they hate it. But they hate and fear Russian control more and all that it might mean.

The Germans are not afraid of communism in itself; they do fear the Bolshevik regime. Many take pains to point out this difference. In America, they say, we are afraid of the danger to our capitalistic system when we speak of communism. In Germany, they are afraid of the Russians because of that country's insane desire to control the world, a control which they feel certain will be without culture and void of human sympathy. Communism is merely the weapon they are using for their more selfish ends.

THE only way to fight such a country is by her own methods—force and military might—say most of our correspondents. The Kremlin, one writer says, is the "devil" and we can't fight the devil with Christian love. We must use weapons which he understands, or he will laugh at us and continue in his relentless way. The Allied Powers must keep themselves more powerful by arms, by alliances, by any means available, because only in that way will Russia hesitate to start war. Once she gains in power over the Western forces, the end of our culture and civilization will be at hand.

Such is the reaction we have received to the principles and ideals which we cherish in our college discussions. It is a challenge to those principles and ideals—it is a challenge to our faith in Christian love.

As never before, we are faced with the actual problems as they exist, revealed by people who know, coming from the hearts of students who write as friends, and who have the same aspirations and desires as we have. By sharing their experiences, they are stimulating our thinking, and setting our ideals against the firm background of reality. By responding with our viewpoint from a distant, perhaps more objective angle, we hope to help them separate the actual truths from the hysteria which always accompanies war and fear.

As never before we must prove the power of the ideals we cherish if indeed they are worth cherishing. We must accept the challenge which faces the youth of the world today—a challenge to find the method which can restore a lost faith for thousands of German youth, and also show us the way to deal with a nation like Russia. This must be an answer that will reach the souls of all men in their relentless and never-ending search for abundant life in a world where economic greed appears to reign supreme.

motive

# Gandhi, World Citizen

The last eventful years of the Mahatma's life.

MURIEL LESTER

IN THE SPRING of 1944 Gandhiji was released. Pandit Nehru and other congress leaders remained in jail until June, 1945, but with the advent of a labor government in Britain in July, came a new era. The quiet, persistent work of thousands of voters in Britain, who had long recognized that imperialism abroad was incompatible with democracy at home, began to bear fruit. Lord Pethick-Lawrence was appointed Secretary of State for India, a veteran in the struggle for the economic independence of the common man, for the legal and psychological independence of women, and for the political independence of all countries. One of the great ambitions of his life had been to see India free.

Soon it was announced that new elections were to be held. Meanwhile Lord Wavell, the viceroy, kept in close communication with all Indian leaders, seeking agreement on constitutional issues. In the early summer of 1946, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps, a man of equal brilliance and integrity, led a Cabinet Mission to India.

"It will only be another inadequate offer," declared the Indian leaders who planned to boycott the mission, but from unofficial sources they gradually discovered that something like a bloodless revolution was taking place in Britain and that these men were a part of it. They cared nothing for the trappings of dignity, diplomatic etiquette, graded scales of worthiness and importance. They kept themselves available to all sorts of people and were willing to rise at unearthly hours to have a few minutes' talk with some Indian passing through the city who might have some contribution to offer. They welcomed the help and the prayers of ordinary folk and regularly attended the silent prayer meetings held in the Y.W.C.A. in which Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians met in concord.

Political agreement between so many clashing interests sometimes seemed beyond human reach. Weariness increased. The hot weather came. Health was affected. Enthusiasm languished. Nerves were strained. Several times baggage was packed for return. But with devotees

of freedom and fellowship, the spirit is unconquerable, and in May the plan for India's independence was published by the government and described by Gandhiji as "the best document the British could produce in the circumstances."

That autumn the Constituent Assembly met. Soon the Moslem League members withdrew.

In January, 1947, the assembly duly declared the independence of India. Lord Mountbatten followed Lord Wavell as viceroy. August 15th was fixed as the date for the formal handing over of power.

SIX months earlier, in August, 1946, I had set sail for India at Gandhiji's invitation. There were a great many Indians aboard and never have I enjoyed their company so much; for now there was no vestige of a shadow of the great sprawling burden of imperialism, no lurking, haunting feeling of shame to distort relationships, no need to be meticulously careful in the choice of words lest they might convey some unintended reminder of the British occupation of India.

Leading Indians had often said, "If only you English would give up your pose of conscious rectitude! If you would own up just once that you had ever done anything wrong, we would immediately turn right around and become your faithful friends, so very sentimental a people are we." This volte-face seemed now to be actually in process. A sense of elation, trust and hope was ubiquitous. On shipboard Indians and British set up a joint meeting for worship on Sunday evenings. These were silent except for reading from the sacred scriptures of all faiths, which could be contributed by any who desired to do so. A great many folk attended. On the second Sunday evening the editor of a leading Indian daily suddenly called out, "Many of us are from Bengal. We are deeply concerned for the safety of our families at home. Please give us some words of strength and comfort." Two days before, the ship's radio bulletin had announced the great trouble just started in Calcutta, the racial violence fomented by communal politicians bent on separa-

tism, the series of cold-blooded murders, acts of pillage, arson and rape. Consternation met us in Bombay. Bitterness was so eruptive that some seemed to be physically poisoned with it. Some merely sulked. Some allowed themselves to be sucked into the whirlpool of vengefulness. Others fell back on the barren satisfaction of the conventional "I told you so. What else could you expect, once Britain withdrew? These people aren't ready yet for freedom."

But in Calcutta itself, side by side with murder most foul, were men and women of superb spirit. Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and Christian were hourly fighting the good fight for the integral unity of God's human family, entering the conflict unarmed, fearlessly plucking victims from the very hands of their attackers, appealing to maddened members of their own communities to remember that violence breeds poverty, sickness and despair to the third or fourth generation, whichever side proves apparently successful. These pacifiers, though many were unknown to each other, worked like a band of brothers, tirelessly. Something stronger, more lasting than hate, sustained them. Theirs was the practiced discernment of truth that could not be blinded by propaganda. Their disciplined awareness of God endowed them with a more apt force than that of mere steel and iron.

Up in Delhi also, the legislators of the newly set up government knew that in all their deliberations with Gandhiji, the viceroy and the commander-in-chief, the last word would not lie with the fomenters of bloodshed, and that to proclaim martial law would create more problems than it solved. They were depending on the eventual emergence of common sense in the nation, on the wholesome spirit of God in each human being bringing men back to sanity.

This process took a long time—eighteen months—and cost India the life of her greatest man, but perhaps for two thousand years, the human race had not seen a clearer proof of God's presence in our midst.

In October the massacres broke out in the remote village area of East Bengal



where Hindus and Muslims had lived next door to one another in concord and amity for generations, going to one another's religious festivals and attending one another's prayers. I went straight to the worst affected region of Noakhali, and stayed with the magistrate in charge. In the hastily constructed hospital, I saw wounded women with lackluster eyes, sitting about in a sort of torpor. One of them wandered into my room gazing around blankly. I was told that a few days before her hitherto friendly neighbor had suddenly burst into her house accompanied by excited strangers, killed her husband despite her throwing herself between them, proceeded to convert her forcibly to Islam, and lastly forced her to marry some friend of the murderer.

One day while traveling third class, my Bengali companion made friends with ten or twelve Muslim cultivators and farmers who were our fellow passengers. They were describing recent scenes in their villages. At length my friend asked them, "Why didn't you go to the rescue of your Hindu neighbors as soon as the attack began?" With utmost sincerity they quietly answered, "We wanted to, our womenfolk asked us to, but we couldn't. There was some authority behind the aggressors that we did not dare to take a stand against."

A few companies of soldiers were brought into the district but their own officers confessed there was little they could do. They kept marching from one village to another but the raiders only had to hide for a few hours, wait till they had moved away and then continue their attack. One cannot keep forces posted in eighty thousand villages. Human society can continue only where there is confidence between man and man.

**T**HE SENSE of relief was immense when news eventually reached us that Gandhiji was leaving Delhi and coming to "start a walking tour in East Bengal which would not end until either the killing stopped or he dropped." His was a simple program based on profound understanding of the human soul. As he approached a village, the people would gather to meet him, the most maltreated woman facing him with her despair. Then the spokesman would recite to Gandhiji the whole horrible story while she just gazed in front of her with the impassivity that follows shock. A lifetime of discipline through prayer had prepared Gandhiji for this constantly repeated ordeal. He would stand before her listening, gravely intent on the anguish displayed but showing no facile pity, no emotion. He was keeping the whole of his being open to God, the all-compassionate, who suffers with every sparrow that falls to the ground. Only God could heal this

woman, redeem this village from its hate, save India, rescue the human race apparently bent on self-destruction. So when the tale of woe was at last over, the crowd, relieved by having heard it so adequately expressed, settled down in silence to listen to his rejoinder. Committing himself to God he would begin, in even tones and low voice, speaking quite impersonally. All he wanted was to be a mouthpiece for truth. And he was! Understanding and love flowed through him with such unimpeded force that somehow at the end of the talk, life had become a new thing for his hearers. The woman relaxed her long self-imposed vigil of remembrance of her husband's dead body and found she could attend again to his living children. Her thoughts were no longer fixed, concentrated on the past; she had a future. Her private wrong took its due place among the myriad other wrongs suffered throughout India and the whole world. Man's sin was not the last word, nor was it victorious. God was actually stronger, nearer, more lasting.

Gandhiji's young helpers separated to work singly, each having a few villages to visit, study and care for. As they approached, the Muslims would assure them that there were no Hindus there now. All had willingly adopted Islam. There certainly was no sound of a Hindu song or prayer, no sign of a sari worn Hindu fashion. Then a trembling person would appear and tell a different story. The visitor, by dint of disarming Muslim suspicion and reassuring the Hindu victims, by feeling and showing equal friendliness toward all whom he met, would eventually be accepted trustfully, and within a couple of weeks the village women were once more daily reciting the Ramnam to their great satisfaction.

Later on the villagers who had been working in the fields would join with the others in the evening prayers, and after that Gandhiji would give an address. As often as not this would be reported verbatim on the front page of the Indian dailies, sometimes broadcast over the radio. His was a very deliberate style of speech, with a strict economy of words. He proclaimed that evil in the very nature of things cannot be overcome by evil; that in it is the ever-present seed of its own decay; that men and women are not pawns in a mechanized universe but actually children of God; that in each of us resides a breath of his spirit, hence the power to choose between good and evil.

Great men never talk down to their auditors, however young, illiterate, or ignorant these may be. To ruined farmers standing by burned out homes, surrounded by fields neglected because their

owners had been killed, he spoke profoundly simple truth.

He managed to make some of them realize that forgiveness is the law of God, a free gift from him. Without it how could they or he, Gandhiji, sinners all of them, bear to go on living? But if, having accepted God's forgiving love, they persisted in withholding it from any human being they were playing a fool's game, trying to cheat the eternal. Therefore they must never harbor scorn or hate, nor plan for revenge. If they had indulged themselves in any violent act of vengeance, let them confess and repent of it now.

It isn't difficult to imagine something of the excess of rage this sort of teaching engendered among certain communal leaders when they heard that the villagers were responding to it. For many a normal citizen, good father, dutiful son, honorable husband, forgiveness was out of the question. Such a one was reported as rushing up and down the streets of his city, one evening, brandishing a sword, all dignity forgotten as he shouted: "I saw them kill my venerable father. I heard how they abducted my beautiful daughters. This sword will never leave my hand until it is red with their blood!"

But probably this man's bitterness did not equal that of those Hindu purists to whom Gandhiji's teaching had been abhorrent for years past. His success in breaking down barriers between untouchables and caste people, his power to persuade women to tear down purdah, his attack on the religious custom of child marriage, all these were as impious in the eyes of the superorthodox as his way of bringing Hindus and Muslims together. In 1934 I had seen some of these indignant men lie down full length on the road in front of his car to prevent its progress; come out in organized crowds to meet him with black flags and banners displaying the advice, "Go back, Gandhiji"; interrupt his meetings with music and slogan-shouting. They tried to kill him several times.

**N**OW news came to Gandhiji that even his beloved Bihar people had been infected with the prevailing disease and were inflicting on their Muslim neighbors punishment for the atrocities their coreligionists had committed hundreds of miles away. He left his trusty disciples at work in the Bengal villages and, taking others, he began a walking tour in Bihar. There was perhaps a stronger, a sterner note discernible in his prayer meeting addresses here, as he pleaded night after night for repentance, confession, restitution. He wrestled with the evil that had broken out in Bihar as though he were fighting for the soul of a dear and only child. His faith in

(Continued on page 23)



# How Firm a Foundation

is laid for our lives depends on basic concepts  
which can be found in the Bible.

HENRY E. KOLBE

WE ARE LIVING in perilous times. The foundation has been very largely cut out from under the values and ideals which have made possible the civilization and the democratic ideology of the West. The structure of our world is in danger now of falling in ruins about us even more completely than it has already fallen. It may be that we are in fact living in the rubble of a great era. There are, however, enough of the original walls and foundations left standing and strong to enable us to catch a vision of greatness and to begin to rebuild—not to restore the old, with its faults and failures—but to create on earth a new order better than any of which our fathers dared do more than dream.

In particular I should like to call your attention to the very real pertinence of the basic principles of Biblical religion to the life that we now live. For I am profoundly of the conviction that unless our Christian faith is rooted in an intelligent understanding of Biblical teaching, it is foredoomed to thinness and shallowness. It will not, because it cannot, stand against the storm of the world unless it is based upon this foundation. No sentimental feeling of vague generalized good will, no glib talk of world government or universal brotherhood, no high dreams or holy purposes will avail unless they root back in a faith in God—not just a benevolent grandfather God but in the God of the Biblical revelation. This is but to say that we shall find both inspiration and power for realizing our dreams of a better world only in religious faith, and more specifically in that particular kind of religious faith which is genuinely Christian.

It is important to note that in recent years the characteristic trend in Christian theological thinking has been toward a resurgence of emphasis on Biblical doctrine. The bankruptcy of the Utopian optimistic liberalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became evident in the great war of 1914-1918 and the ensuing periods of disillusionment and depression. The deep-rooted evil and essential tragedy of a world without God were even more fully revealed in the last war, especially in the

releasing of the demonic power which marked the end of that war in the Pacific area. That evil and tragedy are being further revealed in the "cold war" and in the failure and the downright fear of peace which haunt the present hour. In these times of man's despair prophetic voices—most notably those of Karl Barth and Emil Brunner on the European Continent, William Temple in England, and Reinhold Niebuhr in America—have been speaking vigorously for a return to a deeper rootage of our religious and moral ideals. And that deeper rootage has been increasingly sought in the great teachings of the Bible.

**D**OES the Bible have anything to say to such a world as this, where men stand confused and aghast, yearning as perhaps never before for light and finding none? I think it has, and that the message which the Bible has to give to this world is in its great eternal words about God and about Jesus Christ.

**T**HE first is that God is a God who *creates*. He is not a passive God, like the unmoved mover of Aristotelian philosophy. Nor is he an absentee God such as that of the deism of the eighteenth century. He is an active God, a God who does things. He is the God of the creation of the world, who speaks and it is done, who causes light to shine

out of darkness and order to come out of chaos. He is the God who creates a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, whose purposes will at last be fulfilled. From Genesis to Revelation the Bible speaks of the God who acts, and who acts in human history for good. For the whole of history, in the understanding of Biblical faith, is but the self-revelation of God.

This is the word of the gospel of incarnation, for in the word-become-flesh there is revealed the creative power and the re-creative love of God. The work of the incarnate Christ is the work of creating a new people of God, "a great multitude which no man can number, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and tongues." That new people of God is the Church of Christ, the Christian fellowship which is the carrier of the Christian gospel in and through human history. It is the work of God—the creative God who spoke in that primeval chaos and whose word made the world; the God who spoke in Christ and who speaks today in the Bible and in the Church, calling men to new faith, to new love, to new devotion, new dedication and new daring in his name to the building of new worlds. The first word of Biblical faith is that God is a God who creates.

**S**ECONDLY, it is the faith of the Bible that God is a God who *cares*. He feels for the righteous Abel slain by his jealous brother. He hears the pleas of Abraham and the cries of the captives in Egypt and in Babylon. In the Song of the Suffering Servant he reveals his way of redemption through sharing the pains and the tragedies of men. Again it is a theme which pervades the scripture from Genesis to Revelation—from the murder of Abel to the altar under which are "the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne." For God is never oblivious to those who suffer.

This is the gospel of the crucifixion. At the very heart of the Biblical Christian faith there is the cross—the cross which represents not the wrath of an angry judge nor the demands of a despotic king but the forgiveness and



love of a suffering father. The cross reveals to men that God does care, that he shares their sorrows, that he is a party to the sufferings which their sin entails—not only a party to that suffering but the major party.

The message of the cross is not condemnation but pardon, not judgment but grace, not fear but love. It is the initiative of God, the divine first step without which man is lost in the morass of his own evil world and its ways. It is the foolishness of God that confounds the wisdom of the world which in its wisdom did not know God. It is the weakness that shames the strength of men. For it is foolishness, as the world judges, that love that suffers can be more effective than power that punishes in leading men to turn from their ways to follow the ways of God. But it is that awful foolishness of God which is wiser than all our human wisdom—the foolishness of the God who shares because he cares.

**T**HERE is a third word about God which the Bible speaks. He is the God who *conquers*. It is in his power that Abraham goes out seeking for the city with eternal foundations not laid by man. He enables Moses and the chil-

dren of Israel to overcome the dangers and the terrors of the desert during their forty-year period of testing and preparation. He leads Joshua in the conquest of Canaan. He gives power to the prophets and hope to the captives and enables them to rescue from the wreckage of their political state the noblest religious faith of the ancient world. In the end he overcomes all his foes and establishes the holy city in the midst of men.

This is the gospel of resurrection, of the defeat of death and hell by the power of God. It is the assurance of the final victory of faith and love—of the faith that death cannot quench and the love that hell cannot destroy. The new heaven and the new earth, the holy city which comes down out of heaven from God, are always on the other side of the cross, on the other side of the resurrection. The last word of God is one of hope, for he is the God who creates, who cares, and who conquers—and all this through the same power of his righteousness which is revealed in love.

That is what I mean by Biblical faith. It is a faith which has significance for us, for this God is not God of the dead but of the living, not only the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, of Amos and

Isaiah and Ezekiel, of Jesus and John and Paul, but of you and me and our brethren in all the world. It is the faith which is founded on God's everlasting creativity and power, the faith that man is alone neither in his sufferings nor in his world but that the eternal God is with him, the faith that the final power in the universe is the power of unconquerable love. It is the faith that moves and builds, the faith that the God who is revealed to us supremely in Jesus Christ has shown us in him not only the end of life but the way—the way of righteousness and of love which is the way of the ultimately true holiness.

Here you have not a program nor a blueprint for a series of programs. But here you do have—all too incompletely and inadequately, I am painfully aware—certain essentials of the kind of faith which you will need as Christian students in a confused world if your profession of Christian faith is to be anything more than a sham and a mockery. That I hope it will not be, for in the words of one of the great Christian interpreters of our age, Karl Barth, "The world needs men, and it would be sad if it were just the Christians who do not wish to be men."

Of philosophy at least it seems clear that it cannot be independent of the faith which its author holds; and if our natural sciences contain or imply a theory of nature it might seem that the theory must be either compatible or incompatible with the doctrine of Christian faith, and that the Christian man of science is surely, therefore, challenged to bring the one body of truth into conformity with the other. This is the form in which the problem of "science and religion" presented itself to the men of the nineteenth century. If they, on the whole, declined the challenge, and developed their faith and their science independently of one another, surely, it may seem, this is only another example of the Christian schizophrenia? Surely it is for us, in this department as in others, to break down the partition? That means letting our faith direct not only our teaching and administration, but the course of our scientific investigations. Then, it seems, we shall be committed to the view that there is a "Christian" biology, physics, etc.

Are natural sciences changing their nature and becoming techniques? Up to the beginning of the modern period there was a single concept of scientific knowledge (called "philosophy") embracing both what we now call philosophy and what we now call science. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the division was made and sharpened between science (positive science), on the one hand, and philosophy on the other. In spite of the schism, both were held to be bodies of truth. This is the conception which is still most readily familiar in the twentieth century, at least to nonscientists; but perhaps in reality the schism has now developed still further. Perhaps natural science really is ceasing to be a theory and becoming a technique (a method of prediction and control, a "know-how" instead of a "know that")? If science is not a theory, there can be no theoretical incompatibilities to remove. Professor H. Lange has given thought to the theory of physics, viz., that the virtue of the Christian scientist is like that of the Christian baker or bricklayer—to be a good husbandman of his technique. Above all, it seems to me significant and corroborative that conscientious scientists are no longer worried by the "conflict of religion and science" in the terms in which it was conceived in the nineteenth century. What worries them (especially the atomic scientists) is not whether their science commits them to a metaphysics incompatible with their faith, but whether the power which it confers will be employed for good ends.

—Michael Foster in *The Christian News-Letter*



# Brotherhood With Reservations

is what the actual practice of fraternities is called in this study of discrimination.

CAROL KAZAHN

"DISCRIMINATION is good sense." An eminent lawyer and one-time public official believes that, and wrote an article for *Banta's Greek Exchange*, a fraternity magazine, on that topic. He states blandly that everyone knows that college fraternities are discriminatory in their selection of membership. Equality, he says, is the objective of communism. Only a communistic government can guarantee and protect equality. And yet, the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution states that all men are created equal. Was this then a communistic document? Or need we waste our time in answering such a man?

The National Interfraternity Council Convention in Washington, D. C., last November seemed to feel that equality is something that can be attained under our present system of government. A bloc of New England and Big Ten undergraduate representatives brought pressure to bear on the graduate delegates (those with voting power) to that end. Their recommendation was that all member fraternities eliminate racial, religious and nationality clauses in national fraternity charters.

But let us consider this story. Since the war, national fraternities have gained strength, contrary to popular belief. They are becoming a powerful instrument on many campuses today. For those who accidentally fit into the "white, Gentile, preferably Protestant" classification, for those who *do* belong, fraternities are unquestionably useful. But what about the others? Why don't they belong? Is it because they don't want to, because they have no interest, or is it because they can't, because "discrimination is good sense" in these fraternities?

The secret clauses in fraternity constitutions are not generally known. But reading them leaves nothing to the imagination, and erases all doubts as to the possibility of democratic practices. Their open statements of prejudice turn the clock back to the early thirties. Statements like "members must be of the Aryan race, and not of the black, Malayan or Semitic race," candidates "must not be of Mongolian, Malaysian, Negro or Jewish blood," and membership is limited

to "white persons of full Aryan blood" bring on nightmares of Hitler and recall phrases of *Mein Kampf*.

Not all fraternities are so obvious in their pursuit of "suitable" members. Some have no restrictive clauses in their charters, but depend upon "gentlemen's agreements," which are faithfully kept. A "gentlemen's agreement" has a greater danger potential than a restrictive clause. Pressure can be brought to bear and legislation passed against those fraternities which openly support discriminatory practices, but those who are parties to "gentlemen's agreements" cannot be pinned down or cornered on that score. Other methods must be used against these fraternities, but they do not present the first and most immediate problem. These agreements, too, can be eliminated. But first we must tackle the outward signs of prejudice—the unashamed, unhidden blemishes of our campus social organizations.

On a recommendation blank sent out by a sorority to alumnae who might suggest for membership girls entering college are included the following questions:

Rushee's name; religious affiliation; father's name, business and social connections (clubs, organizations,

etc.); mother's name, special interests, organizations; is this girl financially able to afford sorority membership?; if you wish this girl rushed merely as a courtesy, please so state.

There is no attempt made at subtlety in finding out the girl's possible "detrimental" characteristics, and the search goes back as far as her mother's maiden name.

THE fraternity system in American colleges tends to stamp out the hopes of genuinely democratic relations among the students. They are rooted in a tradition to create and perpetuate an elite on the campus. A fellow from the wrong side of the tracks has no more hope of getting into a fraternity than does one whose religion or skin color does not quite fit the specifications. The discrimination that exists affects only minorities—Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Chinese, Italians and that vast group from the "other side" of the tracks—all known in Greek-letter land as "social inferiors." Yet when we consider that the combination of so many minorities stands a good chance of approximating a majority, then the question looms even larger than before. The words "white Caucasian" are frequently used as an adjustable yardstick for measuring the qualifications of rushees for pledging and subsequent membership. This yardstick automatically rules out Negroes. It has been interpreted to rule out Jews. It has been broadened to rule out or at least to put a quota on Catholics.

The pattern of segregation is fixed by these so-called "white Caucasian" fraternities. The minorities are simply expected to conform for, as stated in a recent *Life* article, in a fraternity the "slogan is conformity and (the) motto is discipline." The fraternity is simply a reflection of existing social mores. If we are to have any confidence in advancing education, colleges must extend, not reinforce, existing mores. Discrimination and segregation are not aspects of fraternity life alone, but continuations of the seldom-crossed and virtually uncrossable borders of our society.





**T**HERE is an easy way out of this problem that has recently attracted so much attention. *They have their own fraternities.* Sure, we build ghettos in our cities, why not perpetuate them in our colleges? Evade the problem, extend the evils, do nothing to change the status quo. The gentlemen bigots are especially fond of "education" as an antidote for this poison. "The situation is so delicate that each move must be made with the utmost circumspection, since pressure brought in the wrong way will only result in strengthened opposition," say these lily-white advocates of "democracy." They refuse to recognize that this has been done for yea too many years. And there have been few results, little change. We had been transposing the evils of our society *per se* into our colleges.

On this topic, Dr. Charles Woolsey Cole, president of Amherst College, said, "Institutions of learning ought to pick the *best* parts of our culture, not the *worst*. College students ought to set the pace. If they make enough headway with the democratic idea, the country clubs and business clubs will come along."

In keeping with Dr. Cole's statement, steps have been taken by some individual fraternities to eliminate discrimination on a local level. At Amherst, at the close of the war, the board of trustees overhauled the fraternity system in all its ramifications. Among other reforms, they ruled, in April, 1946, that fraternities whose constitutions contained discriminatory language would have until February, 1951, to eliminate such restrictions. The first national organization to object was Delta Tau Delta, which denied its chapter permission to reopen after the war. The members of that chapter faced the challenge and backed their ideals with action. Breaking with the national fraternity, they formed Kappa Theta, a local organization.

In 1948, Amherst was the scene of another such conflict. The Phi Kappa Psi chapter informed its national organization two weeks ahead of time that the initiation of a Negro boy, Thomas Gibbs, was going to take place. The reaction of the national organization was in keeping with the existing prejudices but surprising in its swiftness. By the time Gibbs was initiated, the chapter had already been expelled by the national.

There are further and more recent evidences of progress being made in combatting discrimination in the fraternity system. In May, 1948, Beta Sigma Tau was formed, a fraternity that opens its membership lists to Jew and Christian, Negro and white, rich and poor. Although most of the members are white Protestants, there are also Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans, Negroes, Chinese and Nisei

in the society. There are chapters at Ohio State, University of California at Santa Barbara, University of Buffalo, Hobart College, Roosevelt College, Baldwin-Wallace and Ohio Wesleyan. Other chapters have been founded at the University of California at Berkeley, University of Southern California and University of California at Los Angeles and more are forming. John Caldwell, one of the top national officers of the fraternity, is a Baptist from Texas. Kenneth Woodward, president of the Ohio Wesleyan chapter, is a Negro. These men could not hold their positions in a majority of fraternities in the country.

The system and its existing rules would forbid such intermingling of ethnic groups. But the system is changing and is being forced to change by groups on campuses throughout the nation.

**A**T Union College there is a new local fraternity named Beta Eta Upsilon which was recognized by the college in February, 1948. As far back as 1945, Bucknell University had a local fraternity which was interracial, interreligious—American. The University of Wisconsin has a fraternity known as Sigma Delta Phi. Bowdoin has a new fraternity which calls itself "A.R.U.," meaning "All Races United"—another subversive group. Subversive, that is, to the interests of the majority of national fraternities, but definitely in the interest of those who would see living American democracy at work, those who would live and act as true Christians.

The movement has broadened and spread to many campuses. The Interfraternity Council of Dartmouth College led twelve northeastern schools in an effort aimed at ending discrimination in fraternity charters. The Columbia University Interfraternity Council, Pamphratia, issued a policy statement urging the removal "as soon as possible" of all fraternity restrictions "based on considerations of race, creed or color." At Har-

vard, the student council recently banned student organizations for "race, color or nationality" discrimination. Rutgers board of trustees had taken action requiring fraternities with discriminatory membership clauses to "make bona fide efforts" to repeal them. The University of Wisconsin faculty approved a thirteen-point, antidiscrimination program affecting not only fraternities and sororities, but also university dormitories and private housing. Similar action has been taken by campus groups at Washington Square College of New York University, Brown University, Swarthmore College, Michigan State College, University of Michigan and Ohio State.

In the first move by a major national fraternity, Phi Sigma Delta in December, 1949, announced that it would admit Negroes to membership. Only two chapters, University of Miami and University of Texas, opposed the resolution. The first pledge to join the nearly 6,000 members in twenty-four chapters was inducted early this year at the University of Wisconsin.

Yes, progress has been made, but that is not enough. Stronger measures must be taken. It is difficult to believe that the authorities of *every college and university in the United States today* could not force the removal of all discriminatory practices in all fraternities, clubs and other associations on their campuses *if they really wished to*. It must, therefore, be assumed that many of our colleges are giving their tacit approval to discrimination by falling back on the time-worn excuse that progress is being made gradually without resort to any such drastic measures. Policy statements are no longer enough. Action, immediate and en masse, is needed.

**O**NE of the weakest arguments against measures being taken by the various administrations is that fraternities are private organizations, and "What right

(Continued on page 24)



Courtesy The Saturday Review of Literature.

# Economic Life and Christian Duty

are discussed in this report of the Conference of  
the Church and Economic Life.

HERBERT HACKETT

1. Christians dare not be complacent in the face of periodic crises in which millions are denied work, consumers' needs are unmet and unemployment becomes epidemic.

—Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam

2. But look at the little cog in the huge machine, the little man. . . . How do you give him any sense of participation? As the theologian would put it: How do you give him any sense of divine vocation?

—Charles P. Taft

3. What man's mind can conceive, man's heart must control.

—A Midwest farmer

4. The Christian gospel is not to be found in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* nor in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*.

—Bishop Oxnam, *Call for Action*

Churchmen cannot permit themselves to be shoved unceremoniously or bowed politely out of any area where human values, human relationships and human lives are at stake.

—Dr. Harold L. Bosley

5. A shining hope—the light of Christian faith—is being held high here as a sure way to the economic and social as well as the political and moral foundations of peace.

—*Christian Science Monitor*

## I

Religion has been called "the opiate of the masses," a drug whose effect is to make the sheep accept the shearing. We would probably not get so indignant about this charge if it were not so often true, whether in precommunist Russia, Franco Spain, Mexico before the constitution of 1917, or in America today.<sup>1</sup>

This serious half-truth was the concern of the Conference on the Church and Economic Life (Federal Council of Churches) which met in Detroit, January 16-19, 1950. Here four hundred twenty representatives of clergy and laity, business and labor, farm federation and co-op met to examine the role of the church in building a "brotherhood of man," based on economic and social justice as well as on spiritual fellowship.<sup>2</sup>

The job it set for itself is immense. Many do not think the church should concern itself with the problems of the market place. Others are concerned with preserving a system which, with all its faults, has provided a standard of living "the best known to man." Others are selfish.

But Christ was a delegate to the conference; not only the Christ spirit but the Christ man, carpenter, fisherman, physician, feeder of the multitude.

His was the challenge voiced by Dr. Harold Bosley, dean of the Duke University Divinity School. "To the extent that we are able to let the logic of the Christian faith control us, we shall neither be surprised nor appalled at the certainty that deep-seated changes in our social order must be consciously and persistently sought in order that the Kingdom of God may come."

His was the conviction expressed by Walter Reuther, U.A.W.-C.I.O., that the "church must find the moral equivalent of the H-bomb" by creating "the kind of social, economic and political mechanisms to secure both economic security and a full measure of spiritual and political freedom."<sup>3</sup>

His was the sense of humility which governed the conference, in the words of Charles P. Taft, former president of the Federal Council, ". . . if a person is driven to seek God's will and do it, he must recognize that other sincere seekers may succeed sometimes in learning and speaking God's will, too. That corollary to the right and duty to speak could be described as the duty to listen, a sense of the fallibility of one's own judgment. Much change has to come. Much renewing of one's mind is necessary."

His was the democratic sense of responsibility which gave the conference sections such leaders of different backgrounds as Walter Reuther, U.A.W.-C.I.O.; Robert E. Wilson, Standard Oil of Indiana; Jerry Voorhis, National Co-op; Herschel D. Newsom, National Grange; and Reinhold Niebuhr, scholar and theologian. His was the faith which kept them a working team.<sup>4</sup>

His was the call to action, sounded by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam: "Basically, the approach of the churches to the economic order is determined by the Christian conception of the worth of man. . . . The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. Likewise the economic order was made for man . . . (but) no economic order known to man is worthy of the designation Christian. . . . The hunger of any man anywhere becomes the concern of Christian men everywhere. . . . Any order too largely driven by the acquisitive spirit, organized upon autocratic principles and grounded in materialism, must be changed to the end that the motive of service, the methods of mutual aid, the principles of democracy, and a philosophy that stresses the supremacy of personality shall be dominant. . . . Out of the fellowship of the church should come such understanding that men, standing in the shadow of the cross, will resolve that they will work together to the end that our economic life shall be worthy of the name Christian."

His was the dedication.<sup>5</sup>

## II

The conference recognized the danger of high-sounding phrases not spelled out in terms of action. With great unanimity of purpose and unexpected agreement as to ends, it agreed on these specific statements, among others:



6. Economic decisions must be based upon economic facts and not upon economic power.

—Walter Reuther

7. Few of us are adequately informed on economic and social matters. In addition we have adopted the same measures of success as the economic world. The young preacher starts in the poorer churches, the successful one ends up in a wealthy parish in the suburbs.

—A young preacher

8. Our churches are becoming largely middle class. They have turned their backs on the working men.

—A businessman

9. How desperately this nation, this world of ours needs an effective ministry of reconciliation! Such a ministry is not a ministry of weak-kneed compromises.

—Dr. Arthur S. Flemming

10. We cannot think of these things (food surpluses, Marshall Plan, etc.) in terms of economic nationalism. We are stewards of world resources, for all men.

—Robert E. Wilson, president of Standard Oil of Indiana

11. The whole philosophy of looking to the federal government for more and more security in lieu of opportunity constitutes one of the greatest dangers to America today.

—Herschel Newsom, National Grange

We have a planned economy. There is no such thing as free enterprise. The only question is, who is to do the planning?

—A young labor representative

12. To a question from one of the minority: "Why is this conference loaded down with labor and other radical groups?" Charles Taft told a press conference: "This assumption is wrong. There are sixty-six delegates to this conference representing business and forty-four representing labor. We have done everything we can to get a balance. But we have found it difficult to get businessmen who can speak with a knowledge of the facts equal to that of our labor friends."

13. While the meeting may produce no tangibles, it quite possibly will advance society by at least a little in the field of intangibles. And that, after all, is unquestionably a business of the Christian church.

—Detroit Free Press editorial

14. The unifying force of the Master's teaching has made it possible to adopt statements by very large majorities on specific subjects.

—Dr. Arthur Flemming, chairman of the conference

*For full reports of the conference and information about the activities of the Committee on the Church and Economic Life, write: Church and Economic Life, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.*

#### ORGANIZED GROUPS: FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE AND SOCIAL CONTROLS

1. The most just program of social security can be achieved through extension of coverage . . . and substantial increases in payments.

2. The extensive use of taxation to reduce inequalities (in income and opportunity) is a desirable procedure from an economic and Christian perspective. There is no substantial evidence that past developments toward equalization of incomes have undermined incentive or reduced production.

3. The church must take positive action to seek full access to modern medical and other health services for all our people.

4. Federal aid to education, with a maximum of local and state controls, is essential.

5. A necessary instrument of social control is the voluntary meeting to which labor, management, agriculture and the professions come to seek mutual understandings.

#### THE CHURCHES: THEIR PROGRAM IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC LIFE <sup>6</sup>

1. We must provide systematic training in church schools for our clergy and laity for the application of Christian principles to economic life.<sup>7</sup>

2. Church doors should be open to all. "Class churches" are a denial of the church universal . . . (in leadership) all groups should be enlisted.<sup>8</sup>

3. Churches must conform to the highest ethical standards as they face such problems as the wages of their own employees, the use of invested funds and rentals, fair employment practices, etc.

#### THE INDIVIDUAL: CONFLICTING MOTIVES AND CLAIMS

1. Responsibility for the welfare and freedom of others takes priority over individual freedom.

2. Cooperation is in accordance with Christian motivation.<sup>9</sup>

3. It is a Christian principle that there will be no barriers of race, nationality, class or religion.

#### NEEDS AND RESOURCES

1. A program of technical assistance should be offered to underdeveloped countries. (Point four of the President's program.)

2. We must not assume that the particular economic patterns of our own country are the most adequate or efficient for other countries.<sup>10</sup>

3. The best way of avoiding a military encounter with totalitarianism lies in proving that only a free world can achieve standards of unity, justice and progress which increasingly satisfy the needs and consciences of all people.

### III

A persistent minority view was heard throughout the conference. It first found its statement in the words of Noel Sargent, secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers, who called on the delegates to support free enterprise for the same reason "you believe that salvation is an individual matter." He warned of "big government," extolled the virtues of economic incentive, and maintained (to the disagreement of several economists present) that there is no essential "difference between communism and socialism, which use different methods to achieve the same economic ends." He concluded by sounding the keynote of the minority, the need for "spiritual values," a point on which there was no disagreement. His implication was clear, that somehow a concern with economic and social injustice would lessen the effectiveness of the spiritual mission of the church.

At its best the minority kept before the group the practical dangers of centralization of power in the federal government, and the warning that church leaders should not assume that they were, ex cathedra, qualified to pass on the full implications of many economic problems.<sup>11</sup>

At its worst the minority attempted to keep the conference from reaching any decisions. Typical of this small group of obstructionists was Dr. James Fifield, Jr., of Los Angeles, a leader of Christian mobilization, who condemned the "apparent unchristian actions and sentiments of the conference." His intent was clear, to go on record as opposing the whole intent of the conference, to discredit where he could not fix the pattern to his own thinking.<sup>12</sup>

But the conference heard him in patience, remembering the warning of Dean Bosley that there were "no adequate safeguards against the kind of miscalculated misrepresentation of the purpose which brings us here."<sup>13</sup>

### IV

The conference refused to be lulled by the soporiferousness of words, such as "Let us return to the spiritual and leave those things to Caesar that belong to Caesar."<sup>14</sup>

It affirmed the fourfold Christian duty in economic life: teacher of the principles of conduct; voice of judgment; guardian of moral and spiritual values; herald of a new day.



them educed from many the miracle of penitence and public confession.

Meanwhile the day was approaching, the great fifteenth of August, on which the British were ceremonially to hand over power. Gandhiji had to go to Delhi for special meetings with the cabinet and the viceroy. On his way back to the Bengal villages the Muslim premier of Bengal called on him in the little half-blitzed tumble-down house in Calcutta where he was spending the night and begged him not to leave the city. He reminded him that there had been no racial disturbance in Calcutta for months but that he feared an outburst on the fifteenth. He was certain that Gandhiji could avert this and would he please stay?

Gandhiji's habit of never making a decision except after prayer saved him much trouble although it necessitated a constant training in awareness. After a moment he said, "I'll stay on one condition."

"What is it?" demanded the premier, remembering his habit of making huge demands on people.

"That you stay here with me, live, eat, pray and work with me for the whole two weeks."

"Give me twenty-four hours to decide," answered the Muslim, who liked comfort as much as the rest of us.

But back he came, took up residence in the bare room, and next day as the two protagonists set out, folk crowded up to view the strange sight. "Get together; make your plans for the holiday; organize your programs; form joint processions," was their constantly reiterated advice.

It seemed beyond belief, but as the two men walked or drove slowly along the streets day after day with the same appeal, the miracle happened. Even the road, which for months had been lined with barbed wire to warn Hindus to keep to one side and Muslims to the other, was now resounding to cheers as oxcarts, borrowed buses, cars and lorries filled with demonstrators of all faiths rehearsed the great procession for the fifteenth. Such was the enthusiasm that the intransigents could work only in secret. Thus they managed to get hold of some Hindu students and play on their loyalty to the faith of their fathers. One evening as Gandhiji was writing in his room he heard the well-known accusations shouted from a group outside his window. "You're a traitor. You're selling us to the Muslims. Go back, Gandhi. We will kill you." He went on with his work unperturbed until a brick came hurtling through the glass windowpane. Up he got then, and went out to face them. "Here I am," he said in his usual

tones, but with the added zest that danger always brings. "You can kill me, now if you like—there is nothing to prevent you. But it wouldn't stop my work, you know." Then after a pause: "Wouldn't it be more satisfactory if two or three of your number came inside and told me what it is that I'm doing wrong? If you can show me a better way out of our troubles, I promise you I'll take it." After half an hour's talk with him the three representatives went back to report to the rest that they couldn't do better than follow this great leader. Thenceforward they were in the van of the growing movement to celebrate the fifteenth in a style befitting their city. And it was done. Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus rode in the same wagons, singing the same slogans and waving one another's flags. The memorable day was spent in triumphant peace. "Victory to Mahatma Gandhi" shouted the millions of India. In the Legislative Assembly in Delhi, a Muslim League member proposed a motion to give a vote of thanks to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, "because through his charity and the grace of God, peace had been preserved in Calcutta." Cables, telegrams and letters of congratulation poured in but he became so bored that at last he said, "Please don't praise me. It only happens that just at this moment, here in India, God is using my body as his instrument."

**T**WO weeks later an outburst of racial violence occurred in Calcutta. Gandhiji immediately began to fast—in shame and in prayer. The whole city was moved. Leaders of each community begged him to desist. He refused to consider giving way until they made such a thing impossible in the future. How could that be? they asked. His terms were made clear. The leaders must take a vow, individually and together, privately and publicly, that in the event of any further outbreak in the city, each of them would go immediately, unarmed and alone if need be, into the midst of the conflict, the arson or the shooting, and stay there rescuing whomever they could and appealing to the aggressors until the trouble ended.

It wasn't easy to take that vow. The populace remained in suspense. Meanwhile a number of the police called on Gandhiji and left their weapons with him; they said they found they could keep order better unarmed and fasting.

Eventually the leaders accepted Gandhiji's terms and back Gandhiji went to rural Bengal.

Soon the Punjab troubles eclipsed all previous records, causing thousands of refugees from newly formed Pakistan to flee across the Indian borders and an

equally derelict army of Muslims to run in the opposite direction. Vultures attacked the dying; folk were buried alive; a hundred and twenty-five women, many with babies, sat by their village well, while the rioters who had killed their menfolk were standing near by waiting for evening and choosing in advance which woman each of them should take; the women made their plan, said their prayers, sang their last Ramnam and one by one jumped into the deep wide well. An experienced worker among refugees, a middle-aged woman, almost broken with a constant succession of such sights and sounds and stench, went to Gandhiji with her eyewitnessed story of Muslim brutality. Her face was almost distorted with horror. His only comment was "Our people have done just the same thing to them in other parts." At first she was resentful of such objectivity. Later she came to see in it something on which hope for the future might be based.

**G**ANDHIJI went to Delhi.

Came January, 1948, and as always when he saw no way out of a situation, he committed himself and it to God in quietness and confidence, prayer and fasting.

This marked a climax in Indian affairs. Its repercussions in other lands may yet enable our human race to take courage and cut the Gordian knot which holds us all victims of fear and suspicion. It was the spirit that the fast evoked from the people, from the government, and from Gandhiji himself, that ended communal bloodshed. It died out, all of a sudden.

What followed a week or two later perhaps deflected the world's attention from the extraordinary efficacy of this his last public act whereby he pitted his strength against that of a brilliant cabinet, all of them his friends. Still in the first flush of power, they had decided on a certain course of action, known to be imperfect, but honestly believed to be the best possible. But when they begged him to save his life by breaking the fast he almost ruthlessly named the three conditions which they would have to fulfill first.

(1) India must pay to Pakistan at once the five hundred and fifty million of rupees which it had undertaken to hand over months before, but which it held back when the campaign of murder started.

(2) India must invite all Muslims who had fled over the borders to return, promise them a safe conduct, and hand them back their houses. Hindus and Sikhs should call on refugees personally and bring them offerings.

(3) All Muslem mosques, now deserted and therefore taken over for housing thousands of Hindu refugees from Pakistan, should be immediately evacuated and their desecration ended.

"What?" fumed his opponents. "Does he care for Muslems more than for us? Has he no regard at all for the sufferings of our own wounded, penniless, tortured refugees? What more convenient shelter could be found for them than these mosques? Where else can we put them?" "In your own homes," answered Gandhiji, thus promptly emphasizing an important corollary of nonviolence which most of

us prefer to forget, the rule of nontheft, which he defines as "If anyone has more than he needs while another has less than he needs that man is a thief."

The government's quandary was soon solved by the common people of all communities who thronged the streets of Delhi in ever-increasing numbers carrying banners demanding that Gandhiji's life should be saved at any cost.

The three conditions were accepted. The news of the breaking of the fast immediately encircled the globe. Communal violence died out.

Spiritual power is a more efficient,

cleaner, more precise, more apt force than any other.

Such a demonstration of the power of God inevitably evoked a counterattack. Gandhiji had imperiled the triumph of evil and had to be eliminated.

Toward the end of January he said to a friend, concerned by the series of threats against his life, "Do not be anxious about me. And in any event, there must be no tears. If I fall with the name of God on my lips and forgiveness for the assailant in my heart, I shall die happy."

That happened on a Friday evening, the thirtieth of January, 1948.

## BROTHERHOOD WITH RESERVATIONS

(Continued from page 20)

does the university have to interfere with the private lives of its students?" The answer to that is simple, the university has every right in the world to prevent fraternities from indulging in actions which have serious social consequences and are, therefore, no longer "private." The question is not whether the universities shall set all membership requirements. On the contrary, fraternities can maintain any policy on membership they see fit, so long as this policy is predicated on an individual basis.

But we cannot fight discrimination on the issue of fraternities alone. Discrimination is not an issue solely within the fraternity system. It is part of a pattern, a nation-wide pattern, spreading and shrinking alternately, but omnipresent. Fighting this stigma, this negation of our beliefs as Americans and as members of the brotherhood of man, on the basis of fraternity discrimination is just a beginning. Fraternities are only symptoms of a sore that has spread through our lives in their every aspect.

The fraternities are not controlled by the active members, the college men. They, as all organizations, are controlled by the men who hold the purse strings, the banks of the fraternities, the alumni. The fight against discrimination will be a battle with these men who have the power and the money.

An editorial in the *State News*, student newspaper at Michigan State College, put it this way, "The undergraduate members of national fraternities are being, and probably will continue to be, stymied by alumni in their 'revolutionary' democratic antidiscrimination principles. Alumni control national and local fraternities. Alumni provide funds when chapters bounce on the rocks. Alumni provide organization and strength by active interest in their chapters. Alumni are the backbone of strong and worthwhile organizations, but they are standing in the way of a natural and democratic trend."

Much has been done by fraternities on a local level to combat this evil that

penetrates our lives. But much more remains to be done. College administrators and campus groups of all denominations must work together in an effort to rid the campuses of this corruption.

"He who permits evil commits evil." Discrimination must be wiped out in every facet of our lives, in every section of the nation. Granted it is a big job—a tremendous undertaking. But it must be done now.

Today our society as a whole sees the relationship between social welfare and prejudices which thwart the development of the capacities of the individual. This threat to the basic concepts of democracy and Christianity is so plain that almost all of us, except the vested interests, have seen it. The opening round of this battle has been won. It remains for us, the students, to continue to fight on our home grounds—on the campuses throughout the country—and further.

Brotherhood, democracy, true Christianity—that is good sense—and the only way to keep our world and our beliefs alive.

... there will come a day when the arms will also fall from your hands ... a day when you, France, Russia, Italy, England, Germany, all you nations of the Continent, will unite to form a higher community, without giving up your own particular qualities of your glorious individuality—and will form a European brotherhood.

A day will come when there will be no more battlefields, but markets open to commerce and minds open to ideas. A day will come when bullets and grenades will be replaced by the right to vote, and a general election among the nations; by the respectable Court of Arbitration of a great sovereign senate, which will mean for Europe what Parliament means for England. ...

A day will come when the United States of America and the United States of Europe will, facing one another, clasp hands across the seas, exchange their products, commerce, industries, genius, till the soil of the globe, colonize the deserts, improve the creation under the eyes of the Creator to gain for all the greatest possible prosperity by cooperation of the two infinite powers—the brotherhood of man and the might of God.

Translated from a German version of Victor Hugo's presidential speech to the World Peace Congress in Paris, August 22, 1849, and quoted by the "Europe Association," Munich.



been concentrated and with what results? Then, starting from the moral premise that diffused power is the very essence of democracy, we must ask what the wise policy is for today.

We will have to give these questions thoroughly contemporary answers. There are no absolute social structures which, once established, forever and a day automatically diffuse power. Democracy is constant improvisation of the most successful pattern at a given time. It is impossible to re-establish the early nineteenth-century conditions that to some degree furnished an economic base in which diffusion of power was nourished. We must work within the framework set for us by the unalterable facts of a complex technology, large-scale production units, organized labor, large population, and international interdependence. An approach that does not define its problem within the framework of these "inevitables" is illusory and useless. What earlier might have meant the concentration of power may now contribute to diffusion, and what at an earlier day meant diffusion, may now be the bulwark of concentration.

Some say, break up the monopolistic or oligopolistic corporation. Power has been concentrated more rapidly there than at any other point, according to this view. And there is much evidence to back it up. Six closely related corporate groups received 40 per cent of all military contracts during the war, and sixty-two companies received 80 per cent. Most large corporations have long since lost enthusiasm for free competition, the original capitalist idea, though they vigorously defend free enterprise. That fewer and fewer industrial units are making more and more of the goods is a matter of fact; but its effects on concentration of power are subject to a great deal of controversy. Some look upon them as the prime defenders of the American way against the encroachments of labor and government. Some contend that they are really diffused power because of widespread stock ownership. One of my favorite quotations is from the annual report of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation, my favorite light fiction, in which the president of the corporation says that the U.S. Steel Corporation is an example of "the highest and best socialism," because it is owned by 600,000 individuals. On the other hand we have the thesis that sixty families run American industry. Without trying to indicate where along this line the truth falls, which is a very complicated question, let me urge you to be unrelenting in your search for evidence of the nature of the power structure in American industry.

Shall we abolish corporations? This is impossible and undesirable. Shall we make them behave in a freely competitive way? This is highly desirable, and very difficult. Where we fail in that, the goal of diffusion of power demands that we regulate them by community-owned yardsticks, by government control, and/or by community ownership.

To many people, labor unions are the real power of the country. To some who hold this, the result is wholly encouraging; to others, it means the country is going to the dogs. The biases here run deep and strong and it's very difficult to keep from being pushed into an either-or position. I can only suggest a few items and urge you to be most diligent in your study of the power of unions: There are 15,000,000 members who, with their families, make up 30 per cent of the population of the United States. In a democracy they ought to have a great deal of power. The unions have succeeded, since 1940, in raising the standard of living of their members by only 5 per cent, while corporation profits continue to set records by the month.

So far, the evidence does not suggest that labor unions are calling the tune in the country; but the evidence does show that they are now a part of the power structure, a foil, still to an inadequate degree in my judgment, to the power of the corporations. Is there any danger that they will get excessive power? Yes, I think the careful student will be alert to that possibility. It is likely to occur, however, in an unexpected way in that the power of unions is more likely to be power with corporations than power over corporations. As Barbara Ward says, "Labor monopolies do not break capitalist monopolies, they join them." The possibility of corporation-union dominance, in an uneasy alliance, leads naturally to a discussion of another phase of the power structure, the government.

Clearly the government has been making more and more decisions, affecting us all in more and more ways; but whether or not that means concentration of power depends upon who controls the government, and from whom the power was taken that is now assumed by the government. If the power of government is in

the hands of a few, and the power taken has been removed from the hands of many, then greater government activity is a step toward the concentration of power. But if the government is controlled by many, and the powers it assumes are taken from a few, then government activity is a step in the direction of diffused power. Both trends can be observed, but I believe the latter is the more dominant. That is, up until now, most of the activities taken up by the government have given more people a say in their management and policy making than they had before it was a function of government. Our political system is far from perfect, but it is certainly more sensitive to the will of the majority than our corporations; therefore a transfer of functions, let us say the determination of purity in foods from private hands to public, has generally been a step toward diffusing power.

Is the growth of government power not then "the road to serfdom"? Not at the present time. Quite to the contrary, further growth in its power is still to be desired, for its base of control is more diffused than other elements of the power structure. But this is no absolute principle. The time may arrive, and perhaps sooner than most American liberals and radicals realize, when the search for liberalization of power will require an anti-government approach. Power has a way of shifting into the structure that is most effective at the moment and undermining or reducing the value of that structure for purposes of diffusing power. This happened with laissez faire, which at one time was a liberalizing influence, but is now a bulwark of concentration. It also may happen with government if we are not on the alert to keep and extend drastically its democratic base.

Power tends to be indivisible. The dominators of one element of the structure tend to bring other elements under their control. What is decentralization today may be centralization tomorrow. Diffused power requires the continuous everlasting upsurge of new forces. A cooperative consumer movement, a social science that is autonomous, free from the power structure, a vivid democratic moral conviction of the rightness of diffused power—these occupy an important place, or could occupy one, in the American balance of power.

Don't accept a categorical answer. Don't be certain that laissez faire, capitalism, or trade-unionism, or socialism, or whatever, is the solution to the problem of diffusing power. Judge every program by its consequences, and remember that tomorrow those consequences may be different.





# VOCATION

HAROLD  
EWING  
EDITOR

## DOCTOR VOLUNTEERS FOR LEPER COLONY DUTY:

Doctor Gordon McNeilly of Santa Rosa, California, put his conception of Christian vocation into operation recently when he responded to a call for a volunteer to fill the post of officer-in-charge of the newest and most remote of the world's leper colonies.

Young Doctor McNeilly, the thirty-year-old son of a Presbyterian minister, had established his private practice at Santa Rosa after a Navy internship and hospital residency. When he heard of the need for medical service on the thirty-two-mile-square patch in the Pacific, he decided that he was not doing all that he might to serve his fellow man. On May first, Doctor McNeilly will leave with his wife and two small daughters for the tiny Pacific island of Tinian, once a B-29 base, where the Navy is establishing its new leper colony.

## NEW FILM TO HIGHLIGHT VO- CATIONAL DECISION FOR MIN- ISTRY:

On October first the Council of Secretaries and the Radio Film Commission of The Methodist Church will release *Crossroads*, a film which portrays a young man's call to the ministry. Doctor Howard Tower, chairman of the committee, reports that contracts for the film, first of its kind to be developed by The Methodist Church, were recently signed in New York and production will begin soon in Hollywood. *Crossroads* will be made available through the depositories of The Methodist Publishing House by October first.

## WHAT IT TAKES FOR CHURCH VOCATIONS

Persons who seek to channel their vocational services through the church should be persons of outstanding ability. There is tremendous need for church vocational workers—more than five thousand a year in a wide variety of functional skills and abilities—and yet it is increasingly true that the prerequisites of motivation, skill, talent and ability preclude the drifter or the "Johnny-come-lately" who has tried other areas of service and falls back on church vocation as a final resort. The problems, responsibilities, relationships and duties of those who serve Christ in the church make it essential that they possess personal qualities which set them apart.

It is important that those who are planning for church service possess a combination of the following qualities:

1. *Deep religious faith* as a vital personal experience. Faith is the life stream of motivation in church vocational service, without which it is impossible to serve Christ creatively and continuously.

2. *Sense of commitment.* Many Christian persons, having other prerequisites for service, lack dedication to the task. The worker in the church needs a sense of "call" which gives his work a note of urgency and gives him a willingness to do the will of God regardless of sacrifice or circumstance.

3. *Love for people.* The worker in the church is primarily concerned with persons. It is imperative that one love people, in all circumstances—the lovely and the unlovely, the good and the bad, the rich and the poor—enough to lay down one's life for them.

4. *Strong, alert mind.* It has become increasingly clear that church vocational work needs persons with vigorous, keen, alert minds to give aggressive leadership to the causes of Christ. Jesus indicated the need for the dedicated intellect in his admonition to "worship the Lord . . . with all thy mind."

5. *Thorough training* is recognized as an important factor in church leadership. Working with other highly skilled people in every branch of vocational service in the community it is essential for the church vocational worker to be thoroughly trained as a specialist in his field. The one who serves through the church must not only be capable of bringing to his specialized work the finest of training, but he should also be ready to represent and interpret his faith and belief to all with whom he will come in contact. College and graduate school work is now required for most vocational openings in the church.

6. *Ability to work with people.* Many persons have other essential qualities and lack the ability to work with people. In the democratic relations of church work, the ability to share in planning, to accommodate oneself to the opinions of those who lack vision, to compromise in detail while holding to essential principles, to recognize and use leadership of others, to encourage the participation of the timid, and to cooperate in group relations—all of these are of great importance.

7. *Imagination and sensitivity* enable the worker to be continually alert to the needs of persons and the mood of groups. They enable the worker to enter into the situations which individuals face and give understanding ministry to their deepest needs.

That few persons possess all of these qualities in a notable degree is obvious. Many have strength in a fine combination of these qualities while others indicate that they are growing and developing in these essential areas. It is important that those who give counsel for church vocations look for volunteers who possess many of these qualities and show promise of growth in others.

8. *Strong bodies* are needed to meet the vigorous physical and nervous strain under which workers in the church must serve. Few other jobs require the long hours and continuous service expected of those who serve the church. This does not disqualify the physically handicapped, but does suggest that physical strength and nervous stability are essential.

9. *Sense of humor* is one of the human qualities which is valuable for those working closely with people. It becomes the "safety valve" in times of tension, and is a steadying hand providing a true sense of proportion for difficult situations. Those who have a sense of humor have a common touch which endears them to fellow workers and those whom they serve.

10. *Uncommon common sense* is the quality which enables one working through the church to make the most of each situation. Many a difficult problem has been solved by the application of common sense.

11. *Humility*, growing out of the basic conviction that God is guiding and working through one, is a needed quality for church workers. Humility prevents the dominance of self-esteem, pride and arrogance.

## NURSE SHORTAGE OF 87,788 IN 1950:

Against an estimated need of 409,700 nurses in 1950, there will be an inventory of trained nurses of only 321,912 according to a report released recently by Theresa I. Lynch of The Committee in Careers in Nursing. Twenty-one thousand, three hundred and seventy-nine students were graduated in 1949. There is a growing need because of the increase in hospital admissions which jumped from 10,087,548 in 1940 to 16,422,744 in 1948 (or one admission every 1.9 seconds). It is estimated that by 1960 there will be a need for 477,700 nurses or an increase of 48 per cent over the 1949 inventory of available nurses.

## DRAMA

As this paradoxical theatrical season draws to a close there comes the time of awards and the laurel wreaths are brought forth. First to be crowned are Maxwell Anderson, adapter, and Kurt Weill, composer, of *Lost in the Stars* who received the Brotherhood award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Alan Paton novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, from which the musical was adapted, is now to be filmed with Canada Lee in the role of the village pastor.

The New York Drama Critics Circle and the Pulitzer prize judges are in a state of indecision as to the appropriate brow to be graced by their laurels. The Pulitzer prize judges have the hardest work cut out for them as their choice is narrowed to an "American play which shall best represent the educational value and power of the stage." Both of them must decide whether a play taken from a book, and there have been a spate of them this season, is to be regarded as an original play. It has been rumored that the New York Drama Critics Circle may pick a musical as the best American production and their choice might be—guess what? *Lost in the Stars*. If they chose it, this columnist could not be happier.

Another musical which says something that matters is *The Consul* by Gian-Carlo Menotti. This opened to tremendous acclaim in Philadelphia where the phenomenon of greater New York come a-visiting to Penn's green city was repeated as in the case of *Miss Liberty*. *The Consul* is a tragic story of a family caught and hopelessly enmeshed in the red tape of bureaucracy. There is a lullaby number that will break your heart in two. It needs to be seen by Americans, lest we forget!

The month of March in which this last column is written is dedicated by the American Theater to "International Theater Month in Theater U.S.A." It is an attempt by all the major theater groups in the country to demonstrate that the theater serves international understanding. The producing of appropriate plays was one phase of activity. Typical plays were Priestley's *Desert Highway*, Toller's *No More Peace*, *The Trojan Woman*, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* and many others. And there were many other projects. High schools and grade schools wrote and produced their own plays and exercises which featured the way of life of other countries. Playwriting seminars in colleges discussed international themes. The National Dance Association cooperated through dance channels. This "pilot project" of a theater conscious of its international responsibilities will probably be repeated year after year as we struggle onward to international understanding.

Tri Alpha, the drama club of Man-

chester College, North Manchester, Indiana, is going to present J. B. Priestley's *They Came to a City* during March. This will be its first production by a college group in the United States. Eleanor Yinger will direct.

The Second Religious Drama Workshop sponsored by the International Council of Religious Education and the Northern Baptist Assembly will be held at Green Lake, Wisconsin, August 7-18. It offers ten days of training in the techniques of religious drama through intensive study, rehearsal and counseling under recognized authorities. Information regarding the workshop and applications for registration should be addressed to *International Council of Religious Education*, 206 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 4, Illinois. And the sooner, the better!

Now we come to one of those things that makes our faces red when we start talking about international understanding in a tone of voice beyond our borders and overseas. One of those things that makes us shut up shop and take down our sign as demonstrators of democracy.

Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, cancelled the appearance of Margaret Webster's bus-touring Shakespearean troupe in *The Taming of the Shrew* because of two Negro players in the cast. Miss Webster permits the New York *Herald Tribune* to quote a letter received by her relative to the attitude of the college. "Unfortunately, we feel that we are entirely too far in the deep South to have them (the players) appear on the stage. . . . To date, Negroes have not appeared in our auditorium (in companies of their own, much less in mixed groups), and we frankly feel that the time to begin the practice in this area has not yet arrived."

Miss Webster's statement says, "My interest in this matter has been an artistic one. I have brought to the colleges and to the people of the country Shakespeare's great works. We have encountered no difficulty in many southern cities which have welcomed this cultural enterprise. . . . Louis Nizer, my attorney, and I sought to avoid this controversy by every means, but we could not surrender the principle involved and I am pleased to say neither would the Actors' Equity Association. It was only when every recourse to reason failed that I felt the public ought to be apprised of this action by a state-supported educational institution."

For antidote please read *The World Seemed Wide and Open* by Owen Dodson of Howard University, pages 55, 105, 106, *Theater Arts Monthly* for March, 1950, and never mind the cover. This is an account of the tour of the Howard Players presenting *The Wild Duck* and *Mamba's Daughters* in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Germany. An appreciative German woman writes to Mr. Dodson, among other things, "Those people the players

showed us . . . they do stand so faithfully to that what they live . . . nothing is half, all is perfect." But she has never been to Natchitoches, Louisiana.

—Marion Wefer

## BOOKS

*The Church of Rome* by Richard Hanson and Reginald Fuller, S.C.M. Press, L.T.D. 58 Bloomsbury Street, London, 8s 6d.

Among some people there seems to be quite a feeling that the Roman Catholic church is gaining ground and that Protestantism is weakening. It has even been suggested that Protestant students are turning in large numbers toward Catholicism. These statements are probably not true but they show the effectiveness of the public relations work of the Catholic church.

The subtitle of this book says that it is "a dissuasive." This was "a familiar type of literature in the seventeenth century, and was used by Anglican and Protestant controversialists in order to defend their position against the Church of Rome."

College students should read *The Church of Rome* if they desire information on the following subjects:

1. The strength and weakness of the Roman Catholic church.
2. The main tenets of Protestantism in the Reformation.
3. The essential position of the Anglican or Church of England from which viewpoint this book is written.

—H. D. Bollinger

*The Man Born to Be King* by Dorothy L. Sayers, Harper and Brothers, \$3.75.

Dorothy Sayers' Play-Cycle on the Life of Jesus written for broadcasting by B.B.C. has now been published in America. These broadcasts were given from December, 1941, to October, 1942, and were produced by Val Gielgud in England. The book was first published in May, 1943, and has now gone through more than ten editions. Perhaps no other single book of plays, or a book related to religious drama, has had quite the vogue that this particular book had in Britain and in the Colonies. In 1946 it was being read and used throughout India.

The American edition on thicker paper and, therefore, in much larger format than the British edition, contains the long preface which explains something of the controversy these plays aroused and gives the basis for Miss Sayers' excellent work. While not all of this will be of interest to most of the readers in America, much of it is fundamental to an understanding of what has been done with the biblical material that Miss Sayers has used. The notes on the



action and characters, the production notes by Val Gielgud, and the complete cast of each play are supplementary features that will help make the book even more valuable in America. Particularly good are the notes on each play.

No other dramatic sequence has covered all of this material. There are many ways in which it can be used. It can be an effective text for part reading by a group of students. It can be done as a walking rehearsal, or after having secured permission, short scenes can be given from the plays. The dialogue in each case is contemporary and the great value of the dramatic form is that the episodes actually come alive and have remarkable relevance for our present day.

These plays together with Miss Sayers' so-called "sacred plays" are a distinct addition to the whole field of drama in the church. We are also indebted to her for literary, dramatic material that will enhance the subject matter and give us for the first time a delightfully new approach to the life of Jesus.

*Signs of Hope in a Century of Despair* by Elton Trueblood, Harper and Brothers, \$1.

In the January issue of *motive* we were privileged to print the fourth chapter of Dr. Trueblood's new book. Perhaps the fact that the magazine printed a chapter from the book not only is evidence of our belief in it, but it means still more that we are particularly eager to have our readers know it. Those who read the chapter on lay religion as one of the emerging signs of hope in our present century will want to read the other four chapters of the book. Seldom has Dr. Trueblood done anything better than the first chapter titled *Half Past Nineteen Hundred*. In the last chapter on the growth of redemptive societies he continues his discussion of the group movements that are definite signs of hope in the whole religious scene. His *Alternative to Futility* was in a real sense an elaboration of this idea. This is another addition to Dr. Trueblood's growing library of small, readable books that make religion understandable and attractive although not easy for our present generation.

*Toward the Goal Supreme* by Swami Virajananda, Harpers, \$2.

Within the covers of this small book of 155 pages, Swami Virajananda has outlined a method of attaining spiritual experience. The book is more than suggestive in that it lays out the conditions by which a truly spiritual experience can be attained. There is no compromise. Its emphasis upon spiritual practice, "worth more," says the author, "than a ton of theology," is refreshing in these days of rationalization and halfway measures. Many truths are accentuated, and they are particularly

pertinent to the person seeking to live religiously at the present time. Finding God is not a completed thing. It is not a matter of being saved once and for all. It is a process never finished. We cannot know God completely. God is revealed constantly, and especially through the great souls in whom this revelation has been apparent.

The Swami's insistence that meditation and prayer are continuous processes is again one of the insights of this little book. He insists that we can't take a little medicine and hope that it will affect the whole of life, nor can we indulge in prayer and meditation for fifteen minutes a day and expect that our religious living is complete. Power grows in practice, through spiritual exercise and discipline.

There are compelling and charming passages in the book which ends upon a note of complete giving up that will bring happiness. "Be like the bee," says Virajananda, "that sits on flowers and sucks honey, not like the fly that sits on sores and filth." The fly never fertilizes anything. This is a book to read and reread, to ponder, to use in cell groups and to come back to again and again for the standard that it holds up.

*Reason, Religion and Race* by Robert B. Eleazer, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, Nashville, 75 cents.

This is a book which comes into the "at last we have it" class. For a long time now, Americans have needed to look seriously at the whole problem of our getting along together as citizens and as persons of various backgrounds and nationalities. A common purpose will sometimes unify disrupted groups, but in America we have more often than not lost the common purpose in the selfishness of our acquisitive living. Mr. Eleazer has brought both reason and religion to bear on the distressing misunderstandings and hostilities which exist in the tension areas of our common living process. This little book is a very fine light on the roots of our interracial distrust, what religion has to say about this subject and the practical way in which people of other races and cultures can be appreciated in the civilization we have. Mr. Eleazer does not dodge facts, nor does he gloss them over with the sentimentalism or rationalization or "not too quick" changes of which most of us are guilty. A long experience in this area, an admirable perspective on the problem and, most important of all, a practical application of Christian principles have brought Mr. Eleazer into a position of authority where he can face the facts and illuminate situations which must be changed. This is the book that students have been looking for. Its analysis is keen, its judgments are sound and its conclusions need to be heeded. It is in every way an admirable guide to understanding and action, both of which are necessary if America is to tackle

in any intelligent way its greatest single problem, and if democracy is to stand against the changing political systems that are threatening in their immediacy.

*Introduction to the Devout Life* by St. Francis de Sales. Translated and edited by John K. Ryan. Harpers, New York, \$3.

A ranking religious classic is rendered into modern English by Monsignor Ryan. Since its first publication in 1609, the three stages of the good life have been the way to the devout life. This is no easy text, no compromising way. Those who take its admonitions seriously are sure to find the need for constant attention to the fourth section of the book and to its final part which will help the novitiate find himself in the rigorous discipline that must be his if he is to achieve the devout life. This is no book for the haphazard Christian. It is a book of absolutes, solid stuff, not to be tasted and enjoyed, but to be chewed and digested.

*The Creative Revolution of Jesus: Then and Now* by Kirby Page, published by the author, La Habra, California, 50 cents.

When one looks over the long list of books published by Kirby Page, he comes to a new one almost with misgivings. How pleasant it is, therefore, that this particular brochure should be so fresh, so pertinent and so timely. As Kirby Page grows older and matures in his own religious living against the crisis periods of this generation, he becomes more incisive, more positive and at the same time more effective in every way. The revolution connected with Jesus is first analyzed in the world in which he lived. His experiences with God, his messages about God, and his estimate of human nature are rather concise theology put in words that any man can understand. Against this is pictured Jesus' program of action and his crucifixion. The second part of the book deals with the revolutionary situation which we face. What will happen if we take Jesus seriously in world affairs, race relations, economic life, democracy, the church and the individual?

Here is a book that is designed for student and adult reading. It is another book that will be unusually effective for cell groups, for discussion groups and for individual reading. It is, perhaps, one of the most effective shorter statements on Jesus in the present large number of publications that are coming out on this revolutionary personality. The way of Jesus, as Kirby Page so well points out, is the way of the cross if it is taken seriously, but it is also the way to abundant life and to happiness.



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See: Cartoons	
Wisner, Alice and Memory, and Helener Carrier, You Are There, an original radio script	Nov., 24
Wolseley, Roland	
See: Does Religion Make a Difference?	Dec., 29
Work Camps	
See: Service Projects	
World Peace and You, by Ray Allen	Oct., 29
World Report (edited by Dorothy Nyland):	
Oct., 39; Nov., 43; Dec., 46; Jan., 46; Feb., 46; Mar., 46; Apr., 29	
World's Student Christian Federation:	
Ut Omnes Unum Sint, by H. D. Bollinger	Dec., 37

## XYZ

Yinger, John Milton, Fugitives From the Brain Gang	May, 5
See: Does Religion Make a Difference?	Dec., 31
You Are There, an original radio script, by Alice and Memory Wisner and Helener Carrier	Nov., 24

## SEND FOR THIS

**Eyewitness: Peekskill** "is a documented report on the ugly events which took place in the town of Peekskill in Westchester County, New York, on August 27 and September 4, 1949." This twenty-four page well-illustrated pamphlet can be a tool for education in any community to prevent similar disturbing attacks on people bent on the exercise of their democratic rights, says the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The price is 15 cents; write to Box 431, White Plains, New York.

Fathers are as necessary and essential in the lives of the children as are mothers, is the theme of the most recent public affairs pamphlet, **Making the Grade as Dad**, by Walter and Edith Neisser. The price is 20 cents. Send for this from Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York.

**Blueprint for Understanding** is a review of the Institute of International Education through its thirty years of existence. Calling this synopsis a blueprint by no means goes to say that the structure of the institute is incomplete. Rather the figure is chosen to indicate continuing construction, with sound workmanship and a clearly drawn objective. Obtain this valuable booklet from the institute, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York.

May 1950

"The white church in the rural South has the unique opportunity of demonstrating the most significant type of Christian service which our generation may witness, and bring nearer to fulfillment the words of the Master regarding 'these my brethren.'" **These My Brethren** is a remarkably objective study of the racial situation in the South. It is a study of 570 Negro churches and 1,542 Negro homes in the rural South. Write the Department of the Rural Church, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. Each copy is 40 cents.

**The Seventh Semiannual Report of the Atomic Energy Commission** submitted January 31, is David E. Lillenthal's final act as the commission's chairman. The report comes at the end of three years of work by the group. This 228-page booklet is composed of two parts, the first concentrating on the activities and development in atomic energy during last year, the second emphasizing research in physical sciences with attention to training of competent scientists and technical men of talent and training. One phase of the report indicates that development of atomic production has moved from the laboratory to the industrial scale. Study of this report in its wide import should be on the conscience of every world-minded student. Send for a copy from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

**The Real Danger—Fear of Ideas** by Henry Steele Commager is a reprint from *The New York Times Magazine* sent us by the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue,

New York 10, New York. Four times in the history of our country we have succumbed to national hysteria and damaged the welfare of the total public by seemingly protective laws. We are now at a fifth "reign of terror" when the very basis of our freedom may be harmfully endangered by the scare of ideas. We are afraid of communist infiltration into the government, subversives giving away secrets, subversive teaching in schools and colleges, and we further are becoming fearful of solid criticism of the trend of government and country. Write the American Civil Liberties Union, address above, for this stirring pamphlet.

David Hennessey of the Distributist Bookstall, Stollers Cross Roads, West Virginia, sends us three booklets centered for provoking thought. **Rejection** starts with a poem by Eric Gill, "It is more blessed to receive than to reject." **Mosaic of Man** by Francis Walsh and **The Evolution of Peace** both come from England and deal with pressing social problems. The last two are available at 15 and 20 cents.

**Methodism Behind the Bamboo Curtain** answers such questions as, "Can we get our money to missionaries and Chinese friends, or will it be seized by the Communists?" This pamphlet is an honest attempt to put before the people a resume of China as it was before January 1, 1950. Write to the Editorial Department, Division of Education and Cultivation, Board of Missions and Church Extension, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.



## LETTERS

SIRS:

I speak for myself and not as a representative of the Oberlin student body when I request that *motive* print, in the near future, an article to balance the one appearing in the February issue under the title *War and Peace Begin in the Mind*, by John M. Swomley, Jr.

Mr. Swomley has presented, quite naturally, only information favorable to his pacifist point of view and if *motive* desires to present both sides—the complete picture—it will commission a competent author to answer Mr. Swomley.

Your short biographical sketch on this author gave no indication as to his activity during the recent war; such information, I feel, would have been enlightening to the reader. And needless to say, your two pieces of art, *Troopers and Soldiers*, were supporting propaganda on the author's side. Because of the artist's background his two pictures obviously portray, if they portray anything worth while, German soldiers and not the American soldier of which Mr. Swomley is so concerned.

Certain people seek to create the general belief that American preparedness is unchristian, undemocratic and educationally unsound. Is the Second World War now so deep in history that Mr. Swomley and others can forget that they have a free America because of the United States Army and Navy? It is not a question of whether it is right or wrong to induce American youth to a period of military training; but, rather, does America wish to be prepared for any eventuality or does she not?

Therefore I request that *motive* publish a companion piece to Mr. Swomley's article in which the other side is presented. There are still such beings as Christian soldiers—men who would prefer to die on a battlefield rather than to see their loved ones raped by a nonresisted invader.

—Robert W. Wood

Quadrangle  
Oberlin, Ohio

The editor has shared with me your concern about the article in a recent issue of *motive*. I hope it will be possible sometime to meet you and have a good talk with you about the whole problem.

In the meantime I am enclosing a pamphlet which casts doubt from an historical point of view on the concept that military training or military strength has prevented war or has helped win a war. As you know, France has a most extensive system of military training, but it was training for the wrong war. And there is no reason to believe that military men, with millions under their control, will do other than prepare as France, Poland and other nations did prior to this last war.

When you raise a question as to what I did during this past war, I imagine you are implying that one who did not serve in the war ought not to speak about war and peace. While I have the highest regard for many of my friends who participated in the war, I am disturbed at the traditional attitude of many veterans that they have a special qualification on matters of patriotism and that others are in effect second-class citizens at this point. From the perspective of history it may again be demonstrated, as it was after numerous other wars, that those who opposed the war prior to it and during it were at least as patriotic.

Certainly this last war has not ended totalitarianism nor prevented one nation from

gaining control over a large part of the earth's surface, nor freed people from concentration camps. These were the chief reasons we fought the last war, but as an aftermath of it, Stalin and Russia have fallen heir to Hitler's goals and methods. Is it not time that we tried a different approach than the one we tried in the months leading up to Pearl Harbor?

Your comment that you would prefer to die on a battlefield rather than to see loved ones raped by a nonresisted invader implies that there would be more raping in a nation that used nonviolent resistance than in a nation which resisted. I think you will find that there was less raping of women in India where nonviolent resistance was used than was true in Germany, Poland and numerous other nations where violent resistance was used. Incidentally, the problem of raping is not confined to enemy soldiers, but seems to be something which soldiers without respect to nationality engage in.

I can see from your letter that we have different viewpoints on problems of war and peace, but I hope you will accept this letter as an indication that those of us who differ feel quite as patriotic, quite as concerned to prevent war, and try to use just as logical reasoning in formulating our position.  
New York City —John M. Swomley, Jr.

P.S.: You may be interested in the enclosed announcement of a new booklet on militarism in education.

## COVER ARTIST



Nothing could be more fitting for the last issue of the magazine for this year than to have George Paris design the cover. He has designed and worked on about every other page during the year, so it is altogether fitting and proper that his final contribution should be a cover—the enclosing part of a magazine. George came to *motive* from Southwestern College in Kansas where he has had a one-man art exhibit, and where the whole campus was aware of his interest in art and in the concern that makes for finer and more effective living. For he expects to make his lifework a contribution or rather a seeking of the way to express through art mediums

the thinking and feeling of people. He will go on with his special training in this field with the pages of *motive* richer for having had his interest and his contributions.

## ARTISTS

Horst Strempel, whose work appears as end pieces in this issue, was featured with two etchings and a woodcut in the February issue and was given a detailed write-up then. A German artist, he has been working in Berlin since 1945. We are happy to present him once again in our anniversary year.

Robert Wirth whose chemistry end piece we publish has also been a major attraction this year. In addition to his doing two of our covers, he has contributed spot drawings to be found in the November and December issues. He is a designer from Baltimore, Maryland. He also teaches at the Maryland Institute School of Design. We are grateful to Mr. Wirth for these numerous contributions to *motive*.

Robert Hodgell has been *motive's* most consistent artist friend. Now a teacher at the Des Moines Art Center, Bob has not lost his concern for making art the truly significant expression it can be. In this final number for the year, we are happy to reprint his *Head of Christ*. Many requests have come for it, and we now print it as one of Bob's representative contributions.

## CONTRIBUTORS

J. Milton Yinger is a graduate of DePauw University. He also has a degree from Louisiana State, and his doctorate work was taken at the University of Wisconsin. He was on the faculty of Ohio Wesleyan and is now associate professor of sociology and anthropology at Oberlin College. During the summer of 1948 he was dean of the International Student Seminar in New Mexico.

William Clark's *Know-How of Decision* in the March number of *motive* introduced him to our readers. He is a professor at Earlham College where during this particular term he is guiding a new experiment, a course in the technique of Christian living. It is a voluntary group without credit and has attracted some forty students.

Marion Junkin is professor of art at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia. His article on art and religion in our October, 1949, issue caused more comment than any other article this year. What he had to say is of such importance that we hope it can be expanded into a book. Perhaps it will be!

Doris Fry is a junior at the University of Nebraska where she is an English major, interested in journalism and writing. During the summer she worked at the Panhandle Press in Big Springs, Nebraska, operating a Linotype and doing a little feature writing. She is a P. K.

Muriel Lester's biography of Gandhi is concluded in this issue. We know of no more interesting and revealing analysis of Gandhi's character and ideas than has been given in Miss Lester's material. *motive*



has been proud to publish this analysis in explanation of the twentieth century's greatest figure. Miss Lester will be in South Africa through May, after which she will return to England and the Continent.

Henry R. Kolbe is a professor of philosophy and religion at DePaul. He was formerly on the faculty at Eastern College, having graduated from Duke University with graduate degrees from Garrett Biblical Institute and Northwestern.

Carol Knabha is a sophomore at Michigan State College, a native of New York, and a major in literature and fine arts.

Herbert Hackett went to the Conference on the Church and Economic Life as our representative. So impressed was he that he suggests several articles in a series for next year. Watch for them!

## FOR THIS CAUSE

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has a world-wide program for studying "significant experiments" in training for rural leadership. They have recently made a report on a project of Induso which is the Sudan Raiffe School where work is a pioneer attack on the old and long-neglected problem of human misery. But since it began, poverty has been its almost insurmountable difficulty. At times there has not been enough to eat or wear, and staff payments have been in arrears. There is now a pressing call for funds to pay for clothing, teachers' salaries, supplementary food and school administrative expenses. Seven dollars will feed and clothe one Raiffe School student for one month. Fifty dollars trains a student in the school hospital for one year or buys much needed equipment. Address your contribution to Induso, Inc., American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, 430 Fourth Avenue, New York 18, New York.

The American Civil Liberties Union needs your help in financing its program of safeguarding human rights. You can help pay for printing bills, travel expenses, court costs, etc. Court cases and campaigns each year cost over \$10,000, nearly all of which must be supplied by members and friends of the union. A contribution to the A.C.L.U. is a gesture of respect for the Bill of Rights. Mail your contribution to the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action because of a financial plight of its own was unable to report on the Peekskill riots without the aid of the Westchester Peekskill Committee. Eyewitness which is listed in the column, "Send For This," is that report. Donations are needed by the federation to continue special educational work it desires to do. Make a donation for this cause to Jack R. McMichael, Methodist Federation for Social Action, 180 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

People of America have made considerable response and still need to respond to the aid of D.P.'s. However, there has been little of Christian love yet shown that large group of refugees whom we know vaguely as our former enemies. This group is called the "Volksdeutsche" refugees and is being more and more forgotten by even the far-sighted people trying to help the displaced persons of Europe. The Department of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees, World Council

of Churches, 17 Route de Morges, Geneva, Switzerland, makes its appeal on the basis of future world peace. "As a large and untended wound in the body of society, it must soon be healed or removed, else it will fester and poison all of civilization." They urge that people here insist on international help to all refugees and ask for donations of food, clothing, books and money for these forgotten and wandering strangers.

Gandhi Foru, established just a year ago as a living memorial to the "great soul" of India, is run by Philip and Eleanor Mayer. They say, "We are much in need of the help of any who will share our life and work." Write to them, at the Foru, Route 2, Burton, Ohio.

The Congress of Racial Equality, which operates on Gandhi's nonviolent, good-will action method, is in need of at least five thousand dollars to carry on. CORE seeks to make brotherhood observances more than just pious words. It is a group application of "soul force." Make your gift to CORE, 813 West 188th Street, New York 22, New York.

The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons is calling for help of the people in support of the Celler Bill to correct unjust phases of the 1948 Displaced Persons Act. They cite seven senators, Ferguson, Graham, Kefauver, Kilgore, Magnuson, O'Connor and Wiley who are doing the most to help the nearly 500,000 creatures of misery, a picture of human tragedy. The Celler Bill has passed the House. Write your senator and if he is among the above mentioned, commend him highly. Encourage the elected of your state to do what you know is right. The Citizens Committee is also calling for monetary support to continue its long fight to make the D.P. law an instrument of justice. The address is 303 Lexington Avenue, New York 18, New York.

Operation Brotherhood, organized some months ago by peacemakers of Ohio and Indiana, is an experimental project in brotherhood and nonviolent resistance to evil. Wally and Juanita Nelson are dedicating themselves to creative tasks in meeting actual situations on an experimental basis. They need your contribution to be able to put in full time and not have to curtail essential activity. Send your gift to Jean Olds, treasurer, Operation Brotherhood, Route 1, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

"Unless there is a marked improvement in income within the next few weeks, I must cable a death decree to children who, but for the grace of God might be your own. I have visited these children. I have seen them; I love them. And now I plead for them—in his name—mercy," writes J. Calvitt Clarke for China's Children, Main Street at Fifth, Richmond, Virginia.

New in the field of religious periodicals is the Frontier, a Christian commentary on the common life. Editors are Philip Mairet and Alec Vidler. The publisher is Basil Blackwell, 48 Broad Street, Oxford, England. The first edition is dated January, 1950. The Frontier, we are told, is an idea. "All men are called to glorify and obey God and to serve the neighbor." It takes the place of Christian News Letter.

Human Relations in Modern Business is a guide for action sponsored by American Business Leaders. It takes as its purpose and objective "... the achievement of good human relations within commerce and industry."

Write to Practice-Hall, Inc., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

## THINGS TO COME

Change is the best guarantee of a future, and especially a future with a "shape." So in a way this little column is bulging with excitement because change is in the air. A magazine becomes a personality and changes as it grows. When it is headed and steered by new personalities, it is likely to be strongly influenced by them. motive is not static, never has been! So when change is as fundamental as ours is now, this little space refuses to hold all that might be said about a future, and ends its career merely by affirming that the readers of the magazine have something to look forward to. Come fall, there will be a continuing as well as a new household, and our readers will be anticipating the change. That they will stand by goes without saying, for we do not expect any need for solicitation of concern or loyalty. A magazine, like a man, is known for what it says as well as what it is. motive hopes to say and do what a fine magazine for intelligent, serious, religious students ought to be.

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## **A CHRISTIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT FOR THE LAST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY**

1. It must be a student movement that experiments with a lived religion on the campus—its meetings must be the exchange of laboratory experience, clinics where those who know through practice share with those who would know.
2. It must not be merely a social organization, an association for mutual benefits, but it must become, instead, a *serving fellowship*.
3. It must not be an "activity" in the accepted sense, but it must become the spur to activity that is religious living in every aspect of college life.
4. It must furnish the possibility of individual spiritual growth in groups that are small enough to be intimate and yet large enough to have perspective and balance.
5. It must be a clinical group, checking on its Christian witness, evaluating its methods and means as well as ends.
6. It must perfect techniques for campus living and validate these before it seeks to proselyte.
7. It must exist for the total student need of the campus, not for the chosen few or the saved minority.
8. In the present social order, nevertheless, it will always be a remnant, a minority, if it is worthy of the name Christian.
9. It must study and understand minority techniques without taking on the coloration of inferior or unpopular groups.
10. It must be a group that is not dominated by starved, unhappy people if it is to represent the healthy spirit of true Christian personality.
11. It must be more and more a group where the sensitive spirit can find understanding and the creative and artistic spirit an outlet and a critical appreciation. It must seek means of communication, and make its purpose understood in the most effective ways.
12. It must cease striving to keep up or compete socially with other campus groups. It is not a competing organization simply because its organizational values are its least values.
13. It must be a fellowship first, last and all the time, studying, experimenting and recording the experience of fellowship that is all-inclusive.
14. It must constantly clarify its aims, seeking to know how far it accomplishes its purpose and justifies its role as the chief and most valued relationship on the campus.
15. It must demonstrate its true purpose by acting in tension areas and in all situations where men are least worthy of their heritage as sons of God.
16. It must be continuously a study group in order to understand the depth religion which it professes.
17. It must be constantly a practicing group in order to witness to the tough responsibility of living a Christian life in this day.
18. Its chief business is to understand the life and message of Jesus and his revelation of God so that each person can more readily try to live in the pattern of Jesus, continue in the discovery of God and perpetuate the revelation of God to the campus and the world.

